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# ASIATIC REVIEW

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## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

### INDIA'S PART IN THE FOUR YEARS' WAR

By Major General GEORGE NOBLE MOLESWORTH C.S.I.

I FEEL it a great honour and privilege to be able to address you today on this subject. I would however like to explain my qualifications for doing so. I was in India during the First War and saw many of the problems which arose then and later during the post-war years. During the latter period I was from time to time at Army Headquarters and saw something of the trend of thought and the development of post-war defence policy. I went again to the General Staff in Delhi in the autumn of 1936 and served continuously there until I returned recently to England. Thus I was able to see and indeed play some small part in the reorganization and modernization of India's fighting forces before, during, and after the deliberations of the Chatfield Committee in 1938. During the last four years at General Headquarters, Delhi, I have been closely in touch both on the operational and administrative sides with the problems peculiar to India and with the developments which have produced the war in which we in India as it is today. In all I have to say however you will I hope bear with me when I speak with enthusiasm of the achievements, loyalty and devotion to duty of the men whose welfare I have so much at heart, namely the Indian soldier, his comrades in the Royal Indian Navy and Indian Air Force and his brothers who in various spheres throughout the length and breadth of India in the fields, mines and factories, in docks and on the railways and waterways, are engaged in providing the sinews of war.

You will I am sure forgive me if in painting with a broad brush this picture of India's part in this war from the defence services up to I traverse some of the background and refer to the original sketch on the canvas from which many artists have worked up the finished composition. But in so doing I will avoid statistics if it is possible. I would however remind you that the country is vast one since it depicts not a country but a sub-continent. Moreover the painting is not the work of the Defence Services Staffs alone but is the co-ordinated effort of all departments of Government over a very wide field.

#### BETWEEN THE TWO WARS

During the years immediately following the close of the First Great War the Army in India (which included about 65,000 British troops) was organized predominantly on an annual basis. The regular Indian forces were some 240,000 men. Such our forces as were available were rudimentary while Indian Naval Forces though highly efficient were scarcely adequate for the task of local naval defence of her coasts and harbours. In India as elsewhere the defence budgets had to be curtailed on the general principle that better was preferable to guns and Commanders in Chief had to scale their essential requirements to a minimum compatible with safety. It was not until about 1931 that developments in the science of war generally began to show clearly that India's fighting forces required modernization that she required more modern weapons on

potential must be developed. Plans to this end began to take concrete shape about 1937 and India herself, through a Modernization Committee, finally produced the initial detailed scheme which ultimately formed the basis of the Chatfield Committee's deliberations and was very largely accepted by that body.

I wish to make the point that India herself laid the foundations, and did not have these foundations laid by any outside agency. Unfortunately events in the inter-national field moved fast, and the plans which had been prepared were only in the initial stage of execution when the present war broke out in September, 1939. Thus, the defence forces were faced with war while in the process of reorganization. They had, however, a clear design before them of the defence structure which was required, and of the industrial developments necessary to maintain the forces contemplated.

In 1939 India was and still is, mainly an agricultural country. When war broke out she had some 6,000 factories employing about 1½ million workers. Her steel industry was of prime importance, but her engineering industry was of the jobbing rather than the mass production type. In other fields her main manufacturing industries were in connection with cotton and jute.

In the munitions field the ordnance factories were comparatively small and confined chiefly to certain types of small calibre guns, small arms and small arms ammunition. She does not produce internal combustion engines. Her resources in indigenous technicians were very small.

Today India has some 180,000 men in her defence services.

As a result of pre-war planning her industrial potential has been vastly expanded. She can now produce guns of medium calibre, shells, bombs, grenades, anti-tank mines, automatic weapons and armour plate. Manufacture of scientific stores, such as binoculars, telescopes, chronometers and compasses and the production of explosives have been developed. As regards cotton, jute and other textiles India has supplied and is supplying articles to the Allied Nations in enormous quantities.

That is a brief comparison of India's position in 1939 and today and now I would like to give you some idea of how the present position has evolved.

#### THE WORK OF EXPANSION

Before 1939 India's Service staffs were mainly concerned with watch and ward of frontiers and the close defence of the sub-continent and it was on this basis that her defence forces were calculated. It was inevitable that in their eyes the defence of the Western frontiers should be a major consideration. It had however for some time been apparent that with developments in aircraft and in fast and far moving armies, close defence was no longer adequate. To ward off attacks on India it was clear that she should have a hand in the security and stability of her outer bastions to east and west—that is to say in Malaya, Burma, the Persian Gulf and the Middle East generally. This expanded conception of defence had to be brought home to Indian public opinion. The first fruits were the early despatch of Indian troops to play their part in the Middle East, Aden and Somaliland and later they went to Iraq and Malaya.

During the early months of the war the desire of India generally for an opportunity to expand her defence forces and to play some active part in the defeat of Germany was most remarkable. It was unfortunately not possible at that time with the Maginot Line still in being and Italy outwardly neutral to foresee where expanded Indian forces could be suitably employed and thus it was not until the middle of 1940 that India received a call to expand on a large scale. The apparent inaction during the initial ten months which was dictated by considerations beyond India's control has always been a stumbling block to expansion and entailed a loss of time which has never been fully regained. During these months some 53,000 personnel had been added but in July 1940 plans for an additional 100,000 men were put into action. Following this expansion of the defence services has proceeded continuously at an ever increasing tempo.

When expansion really started India was severely handicapped by depleted stocks of all kinds and shortage of plant due to inability to obtain even the requirements of the Chatfield plan. For many of her wartime needs particularly transport, she has to rely on overseas supply. Thus owing to the various ups and downs in the general

course of the war, the story of India's expansion has been a long series of almost heart-breaking disappointments, which have, however, been met and surmounted in a spirit of understanding and co-operation. India has had to rely for her overseas requirements on quotas allotted to her in accordance with a general Allied plan. Always, when she thought her pressing needs were going to be met, something cropped up to prevent this. First there was Dunkirk, secondly the defection of Italy, then Crete, and later Russia's entry into the war, followed by aggression by Japan and the collapse of Malaya. In every case equipment urgently needed had to be diverted elsewhere.

The effect of these diversions on the equipping and training of India's forces was most serious. Deficiencies had to be met by almost superhuman efforts in improvisation of all kinds. But during this difficult period India's expansion went steadily on and she never failed to respond whole heartedly to the many urgent demands made on her for forces, stores and material of all kinds.

#### TRAINING OF VOLUNTEERS

The administrative and training problems which had to be faced were just as difficult of solution as those of provision of equipment. It is a noteworthy fact that, although no form of conscription for Indians exists, there was never any dearth of men coming forward for voluntary service. For nearly 3½ years we have been taking in recruits at the rate of 50,000 to 60,000 a month. These men have to be clothed, fed, built up physically and mentally, educated, trained and housed. Housing has entailed a very large construction programme since billeting in India is largely impracticable. Units have to be provided with commissioned officers, Viceroy's commissioned officers and N.C.O.s, and these have to be trained. The man himself comes mainly from the bullock cart and the plough, to be converted in a short space of time into a fighting man capable of dealing with motor vehicles, tanks, a multiplicity of modern weapons of war, modern warship equipment and modern aircraft. On the technical side India has had to train and provide innumerable mechanicians, drivers of all kinds, wireless operators, armourers, engineer tradesmen, and medical personnel—to mention only a few. In the Royal Indian Navy and Indian Air Force special training problems have been surmounted.

The classes which provided the bulk of the Services before the war were unable to bear this enormous demand, and the recruiting net is now all-embracing. Indianization of the Officer Cadres, which initially was restricted to certain selected units and later enlarged to cover the units of one division, has been extended throughout the Army and in the other Services. All available sources are being tapped to provide officers and pre-cadet training has been developed. In the Army the proportion of Indian to British officers is now about 35 per cent and is increasing. The problem of providing Viceroy's commissioned officers and N.C.O.s has been a most difficult one, since these come from the same source of supply as the rank and file. The training of instructors of all kinds has been a problem in itself. In order to cope with these various problems, schools of instruction of all kinds for all three Services—from staff colleges and officers' training units, through a great range of technical schools—have been established. A few approximate percentages of expansion as affecting manpower, which have now been considerably exceeded, will give you some idea of the scope of the effort. Armoured Corps 60, Signals 450, Sappers and Miners 300, Artillery 100, Infantry 200, Medical units 320, Ordnance 400, Mechanical transport 1,400, Royal Indian Navy 1,000, Indian Air Force 5,000. A further call on manpower has been from the Provincial Police and Civil Defence and Fire Fighting organizations.

Early in the war the Royal Indian Navy was reinforced by the addition of vessels taken from the merchant service. These were for immediate needs. The future was provided for by a large-scale programme for the construction of warships in India, the United Kingdom and Australia. The fulfilment of the programme began in 1940 with the launching of two sloops. In the following year the number of launchings rose sharply, India, Australia and the United Kingdom all contributing. In 1942 the number of warships of all classes launched was two and a half times that in 1940 and 1941 reckoned together. During the present year also new construction has steadily been completed and added to the sea-going force.

I cannot leave this aspect of India's part in the war without reference to the assistance given by the Ruling Princes of India. Their response to the call has been magnificent. Large numbers of their peoples have been recruited direct into the fighting Services, and the military forces and resources of their States have been placed at the service of the King Emperor. They have thus voluntarily shouldered many burdens in the Allied cause. Our Ally, the Kingdom of Nepal, has not only most generously met all our requests for recruits for Gurkha units of the Indian Army, but has sent some 8,000 men of the flower of her Army to India to aid the Allied cause.

Thus, the picture I put before you as regards the fighting services is briefly as follows:

The Indian Defence Forces today are very near the 2 million mark, and nearly 500,000 troops, drawn from all parts of the country, have served overseas since the war started. Recruitment to all arms of the Service is being maintained at an average monthly figure of 55,000. The number of officers and men in the Royal Indian Navy has steadily increased, until today it is ten times greater than it was at the outbreak of war. There are also many more ships. The strength of Indian Air Force personnel has increased fifty times since the start of the war, while that of aircraft has risen by 600 per cent.

#### THE FIELD OF SUPPLY

*Pari passu* with the preparation of the fighting forces, the expansion of factories and those production agencies which are so essential for supply and maintenance has proceeded steadily. In this field India's contribution to the Allied effort has been prodigious. The supply organization, which was projected before the war, has now become one of the Departments of the Government of India, and undertakes responsibility for production of all Defence Services requirements. For this purpose it has taken over and expanded the Army Ordnance Factories as well as the Medical Stores Depots and Mathematical Instruments Office. Its main executive offices are the Directorate of Munitions Production, the Directorate General of Supply and the Directorate General of Construction and Ship Defences. The first two organizations handle between them Armaments Civil Armaments, Engineering Stores, Machine Tools, Textiles, Clothing, Leather, Foodstuffs, Timber, Load carrying Motor Vehicles, Chemicals and miscellaneous stocks. In other words they cover the whole field of supply. In order to co-ordinate the distribution of the resources of India and the various Dominions and Colonies forming the Eastern Group, an Eastern Group Supply Council was set up in India. This enables the maximum use to be made of the existing and potential capacity (other than lethal weapons and ammunition) for war supply of each participating country. The value of these organizations which, through the central and local provision offices, whose task is to forecast future requirements, arrange for the placing of demands and hold and issue stocks, can best be seen from a brief survey of results.

It is not too much to claim that the successes in North Africa redound partly to the efficiency of India's supply organization and the richness of her resources which, for two and a half years enabled India to supply all the bulk stores needed. Taking advantage of the shorter supply route, she provided in a steady stream over 1½ million tons of stores, thus releasing much tonnage which the United Kingdom could utilize for supplies to Russia on the other front. The stores ranged from railway wagons to landing craft, electric torches to uniforms. She supplied for the R.A.F. alone nearly 5 million batteries. Allied troops wore clothes made in India, walked in boots from Indian factories. Nearly 90 per cent of the tents which protected the troops from the torrid heat, canvas and groundsheets which kept pernicious sand out of tanks, planes and motor vehicles came from India. Great quantities of steel structures, landing craft and electrical goods and nearly all of the timber were supplied from India.

Rolling stock, railway material and technical supervision—at a sacrifice to India—which she sent to ports in Iraq and the Persian Gulf, helped to extend port facilities to cope with the vast amount of supplies from the Eastern Group and America which arrived later. The camouflage nets delivered would loop the world eight times over. Fifty thousand stretchers, over a million blankets, over a quarter of a million mosquito

nets, over 1,500 different items of medical stores were other supplies to the North African theatre. The 2½-inch bandages would reach nearly 2,000 miles. In one instance, when quotas from the West were lost en route, India hurriedly sent over 7,000 tons of steel, which enabled the vast minefields to be laid to play such an important part in the defensive war in North Africa last year. That is the story of supplies to only one theatre of war. But India supplies several others, including India itself.

The output of many things made in India before the war, from steel to pith hats, is being very greatly increased by multiple shift working, redistribution of plant and personnel, and by actual additions of plant. Advances of this kind are due quite as much to independent industrial enterprise as to official assistance. The aid received in plant, equipment and technicians from the United Kingdom and the United States has been substantial. An overall increase of nearly 50 per cent in the output of steel, considerable stimulation of the non-ferrous metal industries, the increase in output of leather goods, chemicals and drugs are examples of quantitative expansion. New productions include the making, or planning to make, of a number of special steels in India for the first time for tool steel, taps, dies and small tools. Machine tools are now being made, not only in larger quantities but in better qualities. A group of technicians from British factories are helping in this process. Similar basic improvements are being found in the chemical and pharmaceutical industries. New chemical plants are coming into production, and many of these have production in hand. A rubber reclaiming plant is being established. In the field of munitions 1942 witnessed a further increase in Indian ordnance factories. These factories are aided by a host of feeder engineering factories, over a thousand in number, specializing in components. The production of explosives at the end of 1942 had more than doubled, artillery equipment advanced 30 per cent, small arms ammunition 25 per cent, gun ammunition 50 per cent and light machine-guns 100 per cent. Much has been done to increase the output of explosives, and India's production will play a considerable part in the operations against Japan.

Research in India is directed along three main channels—the production of indigenous substitutes for imported materials to save shipping, the replacement by other indigenous materials of those in short supply, and substitutes for rubber, tinplate, and bitumen, to name only a few. Production from indigenous material of hydraulic fluid for vehicles and aircraft, mineral and graphite greases, self sealing tanks, rust preventives, camouflage cream and aircraft dope are some of the latest achievements. With the co-operation of non-official scrap committees, coffee grounds are now used in the production of plastics. The Supply Development Committee, constituted in 1941, at General Headquarters, is composed of departmental chiefs, military and civil, and it works in close collaboration with industrialists and scientific institutions, chief amongst which are the Board of Scientific and Industrial Research and Tata's Research Institute.

#### CONSTRUCTION AND TRANSPORT

I have already mentioned the enormous construction necessary in connection with housing. But that is only one facet of the construction programme which has taxed India's resources to the utmost. To cope with this, not only the Military Engineering Service, but the Central and Provincial Public Works Departments have been fully extended. A very large programme of factory, storage, airfield, road, railway and dock construction has had to be undertaken as well as Air Raid Precaution work on a considerable scale. This has entailed not only the provision of large quantities of material, such as bricks, cement, timber and steel, but fabrication and transportation.

The transportation problem, in itself an enormous one, has been complicated by the generous supply by India of locos and rolling stock and track for Allied needs, by the aggression of Japan which restricted coastal shipping in the Bay of Bengal, and by damage caused during the internal disturbances in the autumn of 1942. The magnitude of India's internal effort in the fields of construction and transportation has, I think, never been fully realized.

In so short a survey I have had to leave much ground uncovered, but what I have said will, I hope, give you some small idea of India's part in four years of war.

### WHAT INDIA HAS DONE

I feel that there is an impression that India has been living in comparative peace and lethargy and has done little commensurate with her size and resources. I have endeavoured to remove that impression. It is true that she has not had the close experience of war which has fallen to the lot of the United Kingdom. On the other hand, she has experienced bombing in some areas and the dangers of invasion in the early months of 1942 were very real and pressing. Moreover, in the autumn of that year she passed through a period of great internal turmoil.

It is not, I think, generally realized what a great burden has been carried by the retiring Viceroy or the credit which is due to him, not only for the soundness of his preparation of the foundations of the war structure in pre-war days, but for the manner in which he has guided the growth of the edifice through four years of war. India's Commanders-in-Chief throughout this period have had a heavy load of responsibility, for it is they who have had the immediate direction of the expansion of India's fighting forces, the responsibility for her defence, and for meeting the many external calls occasioned by the varying fortunes of the war.

But below those in supreme command come many who in subordinate positions have had to implement the plans and put into effect the orders given. It has meant for them long hours of daily work in adverse climatic conditions with few amenities, many disappointments and little relaxation. In this category are the men who produced the pre-war framework and have remained to see the edifice constructed. Below them are the rank and file of the fighting Services whose keenness in training and desire to get to grips with the enemy have never flagged, the police, whose tasks have been multiplied, and whose devotion to duty on which so much depends is so often forgotten, and the host of civilian workers, on the railways, in the factories and in other spheres connected with the war effort, without whose whole-hearted co-operation little progress could have been made. Last but not least are those men and women who with service and money have aided the Red Cross and Red Crescent Organizations, and provided comforts for the Services. All these have contributed their humble share to the forging of a great weapon which will play a large part in the future operations against Japan. Contributions to the Viceroy's War Purposes Fund up to the end of July totalled over £6½ millions.

It is hardly necessary for me to remind you of the achievements of the fighting forces which India has produced in this war. I would ask you to consider the casualties incurred by India's fighting Services as a whole. These up to June, 1943, were Killed, 5618, wounded, 13,084, missing and prisoners, 85,178. A total of 103,880.

The exploits of the Indian Army in Abyssinia, Libya, Tunisia, Syria, Iraq and Iran are known to all the world. Men of the Royal Indian Navy have shown their mettle on every occasion on which they have met the enemy on the high seas while the Indian Air Force has given a foretaste of its fighting qualities in action against the Japanese. There is still much fighting for these forces to do both to the west and to the east. Up to now India's men have had their main opportunities to the westward in theatres where the climate and the terrain come more naturally to them. To the eastward lies a terrain of jungle and swamps and a specialized type of fighting which is as strange to them as it is to their British and Allied comrades. That they will rapidly adapt themselves to that type of terrain and warfare I have no doubt. I have no doubt also that, just as India's fighting men have shown themselves the equal, if not the superior, of the Axis troops in the Mediterranean theatre—and thereby contributed to the ultimate Axis collapse—so they will get the measure of the Japanese and play their full part by land, on sea and in the air, with their British and Allied comrades in the ultimate destruction of Japan.

## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held on Tuesday, October 5, 1943, at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S W 1, when Major-General G N Molesworth, csi, read the foregoing paper Field Marshal Lord Birdwood, gcb, gcmg, cbe, dso, presided

The CHAIRMAN said that he was very glad to be able to introduce an old friend and comrade of the Indian Army in General Molesworth. General Molesworth had served in India for thirty years, first in the 28th Punjab Regiment, later known as the 4/15th Punjab Regiment. He was in the Indian Army during the last war and recently had held the appointment of Director of Military Operations and Intelligence in India and Deputy Chief of General Staff. He was, therefore, up to date in what India had been doing during the war which was what they wished to hear. We did not hear as much of India in this country as we would like, and General Molesworth would be able to give an account of the great changes which had taken place in unchanging India in the creation of an up-to-date military machine.

General Molesworth then read his paper

The CHAIRMAN welcomed the presence of His Excellency the Minister for Nepal, who must indeed be proud of the record of his wonderful countrymen, the Gurkhas. One had already been personally decorated by His Majesty the King with the Victoria Cross and now a second had been awarded the same distinction. He was very proud of the fact that for many years he had been Colonel of a Gurkha regiment, and he was glad to see General Coleridge, a brother Colonel, who would bear him out in what he said about the magnificent bravery of our Gurkha soldiers and the privilege and honour the Indian Army felt in having them in that Army.

General Molesworth had told them of changes which he could hardly credit. He would like to correct him on one detail however. He had said that mechanization was depriving them of all their animals—the horses had gone—but the Chairman was thankful to say that that magnificent animal the mule, still lived. Some of the most efficient and valuable of the Indian Army units were the Indian Battery units, where the mules could not be replaced by mechanism in the mountainous country either on the North West or North East Frontiers. He hoped that the General did not intend to omit their old friend the mule.

General Molesworth had emphasized how those who had served long in India had had to re-orientate themselves. He himself served under Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener. Lord Roberts was obsessed with the opinion that they had to be ready for a really big invasion on the North West Frontier. That tradition was passed on to Lord Kitchener and all their plans were regulated by the fact that they must have a strong army on the North West Frontier. The North East Frontier was scarcely considered.

The Chairman recalled that he had had the good fortune to march from Assam across Burma to the Chinese frontier and he then realized how the mountain ranges between India and the Chinese border ran at right angles forming a line of defence very difficult to cross. The same was hardly the case on the North West Frontier.

He hoped it was realized what an enormous amount of expansion had taken place recently. In his day they depended upon Shahpur, Dum-Dum, and Kirkee and they never let the Army down and our factories must have been the backbone upon which the present expansion had been founded. He should also mention Cawnpore and Dhariwal for cotton and woollen goods and Tata for steel and railways. India realized when the war started that she had to extend herself enormously and prepare herself to face Germany, and when Japan came in as an enemy, it became absolutely vital that there should be real re-orientation. Those who remembered the beginning of the last war, remembered how Japan was our friend. When he took over command of the Australian and New Zealand troops they told him that they had been escorted by a Japanese cruiser which did her best to take on the *Emden*, but the

Sydney got there first. Those were the days when the Japanese were our friends and were welcomed as such, perhaps we did not know them then as we do now. They will be difficult to defeat and there was a difficult battle in front of us.

The part of Burma across which he marched was a mass of forests with the ranges of hills going in the wrong direction for an advance from west to east, but we had to invade, and with the help of a strong Air Force he had no doubt that it would be accomplished. The Japanese had not been able to concentrate as they should have done, the Americans were getting one ship after another, and he thought they might look for a big action against the Japanese Fleet by the Allied Navies, with no doubt as to the result, in spite of their strength.

He was very interested in the new classes of recruits to the Indian Army, we had certain classes which we looked upon as the finest fighting material in the world. Now, of course there were many different classes being enlisted, and it had to be discovered whether they would prove to be of equal value. He could say that the finest general staff, the finest of weapons, the best of guns, were dross compared to the men behind the guns, and those who had served in the Indian Army all their lives were proud of the fact that they had men who stood by them to the death. India would show the world that she could deal with aggressors.

He thanked General Molesworth very much for his most interesting address.

Admiral Sir HERBERT FITZHERBERT found himself in a difficult position, not for the first time in his life, for he had been allotted five minutes in which to tell of what he had endeavoured to achieve during the time he was in the Royal Indian Navy. The outlook when he first arrived in India was heartbreaking. Not the slightest attention was paid to the sea by the authorities and he likened himself to Christian in the *Pilgrim's Progress* when he found the powers of darkness arrayed as a solid phalanx in front of him and between him and his desires, which were to teach India how vital the sea was to her and how much she needed a modern fighting Navy.

He started off on a very 'sticky wicket'—he was informed by the India Office that India was bankrupt, the defence budget was too small, and was concentrated on the military side to the exclusion of the Navy and the Air Force, and he had to fight alone. He started from the beginning and gradually worked ahead; he got some funds and the Chitfield Committee did a great deal to help him. The Navy consisted only of five little ships two of which were converted yachts. When he left there were ninety modern ships. He started with 1,200 officers and men; when he left India there were 23,000. He would like to correct General Molesworth, because the Royal Indian Navy had expanded by 1,800 per cent.

With such an expansion he could never relax his efforts; he fought his battles for five and a half years, some of the authorities disliking him very much because he had to fight and continue fighting otherwise everybody and everything stopped. By pressing on by personal contacts, by trying not to hustle the East but hustling the European a little was achieved. The expansion of the Royal Indian Navy was rapid and fairly large and one of his chief troubles was the difficulty of training. Schools could be built; recruits could be enlisted but trained instructors could not be produced for such a large expansion but his instructional staff had achieved the impossible—they were magnificent. Although they all wanted to get to sea to fight the enemy they stayed in the schools and did their job so well that they were able to keep pace with the training requirements. He could not put into words what he owed to his training staff.

With regard to the expansion of ships, he produced a construction programme by means of which every shipbuilding slip in India was filled when a ship slipped down into the sea the keel was laid for the next. He had very great co-operation from shipbuilding experts and others who overcame all difficulties. The problems were new but they shouldered the burden and he was very grateful to them all. Ships were built in India, Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States, and gradually they came into service, and when the plan was complete there would be not 5 but 250 modern ships in the Royal Indian Navy. Recruits were being enlisted at the rate of 1,000 a month so that his 23,000 would now be nearing the 30,000 mark. Two major naval bases had been built and three minor bases fitted.

with the needs of a modern minor naval base, so that attention had not only been given to ships and men, but to the housing problem.

A modern navy needed a large number of very technical training schools. When he left he was happy in the knowledge that India's Navy possessed every type of technical training school needed for a fighting navy, which were producing the trained men and officers required.

Referring to the efforts of the Royal Indian Navy at sea, Admiral Fitzherbert said that the ships had been employed in fighting or helping to fight the battle of the Atlantic and had operated as far east as Singapore and as far south as Australia, they had come up against the enemy, the enemy mine and the enemy gun, and they had done magnificently. The men had had their ships sunk under them, and in every case their behaviour had accorded with the very highest traditions of the Imperial Navy in times of great stress and hardship.

Sir ROBERT REID (late Governor of Assam) said that Assam had no great manu factories, but it was the producer of three very important commodities—tea, oil and timber. With regard to tea the planters were producing all the tea which they had been asked to produce and would produce as much more as they were asked to do. Production of tea at the present time was far from easy the best part of 90 per cent of the young assistants on tea gardens had been called up to join the forces, which meant that the older men were carrying on, performing three and four men's work and doing without leave.

Apart from the manufacture of tea, the industry had done wonderful work during the last year or eighteen months at the request of the Government of India in connection with the construction and improvement of roads on the frontier. This request was made at the time of the evacuation from Burma, when it was obvious that there would be an enormous number of Burmese evacuees to deal with as well as our retreating army. At the same time fresh troops had to be sent up for the defence of the frontier and it became clear that the whole thing was a question of transport. In March, 1942, the Government of India sent Major-General Wood of the Supply Department to Assam with very wide plenary powers to deal with all questions of communications on the North East Frontier. At that time also the Government asked the Indian Tea Association whether they were prepared to put their resources at the disposal of the Government. An immediate response was made and the work was carried out with great efficiency. Labour was the key to the problem in many respects. The tea industry could obtain thousands of coolies in the tea districts and could also find more men in the districts where that labour came from and it obtained men in thousands and provided the supervisory staff, the medical staff and their own supplies. The debt owed to the tea industry was a very heavy one indeed.

Sir Robert did not think there was very much to say about the oil industry, which throughout the war had been working all out with an efficiency which was typical of the Assam Oil Company. With regard to timber, every demand which came—and it was enormous—was fulfilled, the quality and promptness with which the orders were delivered at the ports being very good indeed.

Man power in the early days suffered from the delay which affected the whole of India and to which General Molesworth had referred. The people of Assam, especially those in the hill country round the borders offered their services freely from the start of the war. In the last war the hill tribes sent many thousands of men in labour corps to serve in France and the sons of these men were only too anxious to come forward and serve. Their anxiety to serve could not be complied with, at any rate up to the time he left Assam but they had served in great numbers within Assam itself. A labour corps of 2,000 Abor tribesmen did magnificent work in the north-east corner of Assam in helping Burmese evacuees. The policy changed later and one evidence of this was the raising of an Assam Regiment. He had the privilege of being present at the inauguration of the regiment. A second battalion was added later and he had reason to believe that they had all given their commanding officers the utmost satisfaction.

The women of Assam, especially those in the hills tribes, had come forward in a

most wonderful way to work as nurses. They were particularly good at that sort of work, and when the Auxiliary Nursing Service was instituted in 1941 they showed their worth and gained good reports from whatever hospitals they were serving in. He thought he was right in saying that the young girls from Assam were the first to volunteer to go overseas. When there was danger of bombing in Assam, the people came forward to do the A.R.P. work, especially those in the Women's Voluntary Service which his wife had inaugurated some six months before the crisis occurred.

General Sir JOHN COLERIDGE said that one or two points occurred to him during the lecture, which was of great importance and given by a man who had had years of experience in Army organization. He had given many facts, some of them had been hard facts, but he had avoided idealism, which was a great essential in these days of stress and speculation. Enormous difficulties had been met and were being gradually overcome, the expansion had been little less than miraculous, especially as it started in 1939 from very little. In fact, our resources at that time were low indeed.

The vexed question of man power and its manipulation came much into the forefront of the lecture. For various complicated reasons, the population of India and the number of men employed in the Services were not in proportion, a point which must be borne in mind when considering India's war effort, sufficient to say here, however that the difficulties of general recruitment in India were enormous. Admiral Fitzherbert had referred to the importance of recruitment of officers for the Navy, the same applied with equal force to the Army. Without trained officers there would be both an untrained Navy and Army as regards the latter, when the war started we had about 3,000 trained officers serving in the Indian Army, now—he made a shot—there might be 100,000 and all this great increase had had to be trained by the original 3,000. No mean achievement this in fact, a tremendous task.

There was a tough fight in prospect before the Japanese would be beaten. The Chairman emphasized only too clearly what kind of fighters the Japanese were, but the lecturer had ably demonstrated how India was preparing for the struggle, and they could face the prospect with confidence.

As a young man he had soldiered in Assam in 1899 and simultaneously with his arrival there had come engineers to prospect for rail and road routes into Burma. There was a controversy as to whether these should be made which had not yet been settled; there were many who attributed our misfortunes in Burma to the lack of these communications but others more cynical, suggested that had these communications existed the Japanese utilizing these might have been in India now. Here was food for thought.

Sir STANLEY REED M.P. said they had all listened with absorbing interest to Rear Admiral Fitzherbert's account of the expansion of the Royal Indian Navy, which owed so much to his enthusiasm and experience. It could not have been easy to persuade the authorities in India that with the conclusion of the Anglo-Russian Agreement and especially the conditions established in Europe at the end of the Great War the defence of India was primarily by sea. Indeed when he made this suggestion in the House of Commons he was asked if he proposed to send battle ships up the Khyber. Well it was not down the Khyber or through Seistan that the enemy had come. Even now he doubted whether the Indian Navy would reach its full stature until Army Headquarters at Simla were burnt down and the hundreds of plans for the resistance of invasion from the North West were destroyed. When last he visited the training ships for the Indian Navy and the Indian mercantile marine in Bombay he was told that a substantial proportion of the recruits were Punjabi Mussalmans; it would be interesting to know to what extent the Indian Navy was manned from this inland province now. General Molesworth had mentioned that the Indian Army entirely recruited from volunteers was now approaching the two million mark which raised this question. Were the campaigns on which the Indian Army were likely to be embarked campaigns for the employment of large numbers of troops trained to ordinary standards, or for the employment of smaller numbers of highly trained units, with the best modern equipment? That

was a question for the "high-up ones", what was most illuminating in the lecture was the evidence of the immense effort India had made in equipping her own great forces and in supplying Allied Armies overseas—a conclusive answer to those who charged the Indian Government with tardiness, and who, to judge by their speeches, though it was only necessary to place a few bricks on top of each other, and, *hey presto!* emerged factories turning out a constant stream of aircraft and motor transport.

Captain K. K. LALKAKA said that he agreed to say a few words because he felt, although he had not seen General Molesworth's paper in advance, that it would be very full of detail and information, but that there might be a glaring gap in it—that was recognition of the contribution which the right type of Briton had made to help India make its war effort. The only justification he could have for speaking to the meeting was to make good that omission, so that they could be reminded that India was not, as many people in this country imagined, full of Colonel Blimps with old school ties talking about 'Poona' and patting each other on the back and saying,

"Whah! whah! There were present a Field Marshal, two Generals, an Admiral, and many others, none of whom were Colonel Blimps, nor had he ever seen any such in India."

The paper flowed smoothly and gave an impression that India was just one country and one people, but most of them knew that that was far from the fact. India was a continent containing not only four fifths of the population of the British Empire, but a group of people which could only be likened to a vast and seething cauldron of Oriental humanity, and yet this effort went on, and it was largely due to the fact that all along they had had the right type of Briton going out to India who had realized the meaning of Imperial responsibility.

Unfortunately at times the wrong type went out, and it was the faults and mistakes engendered by such people which provided critics with a convenient tool with which to attempt to belittle all that Britain had done for India and meant to India; in changing conditions this would be very important. Many people did not seem to realize that the Empire had been built up by the younger sons of good families who went to the Empire for their life's work, and India was the result of the work of men of such character, deeply conscious of the responsibilities of Empire. With new conditions, with levelling down, what type of men were to be sent to India? That was a question which one had to consider very seriously.

While as an Indian he appreciated everything that had been said by every speaker about India's effort, it would be a serious lack not to emphasize and stress the fact that all that effort would not have been possible had the right type of Briton not been behind it. India was a great edifice, but the amalgam between the bricks was that provided by the British, take it away and the edifice would collapse.

Sir HASSAN SUHARWARDY proposed a vote of thanks to the lecturer and the chairman. He wished to congratulate the Association on getting together a body of people to speak who had left such fragrant memories of themselves in India. The late Governor of Assam (Sir Robert Reid) had only just mentioned his wife's work, but all knew what a great part she played and how many friends she made among the Indian people.

As to Admiral Fitzherbert's refreshing account of the expansion of the Royal Indian Navy, the speaker suggested that a minor base might have been made on the Chittagong and Assam coast, from whence so many sea-going people came, perhaps this was a point to be remembered for the future.

They all had been happy to see on a visit to this country representatives of the Fourth Indian Division, and he was sure they had enjoyed their visit to Britain. In October, 1941, he was in Cairo, and through the courtesy of General Auchinleck was able to visit the Indian Divisions. In February, 1942, he met General Molesworth, whom he found very sympathetic and receptive and who arranged for him to have a talk with the Commander-in-Chief. Many of the things which he was told in confidence in those days had since come to pass, as the result of the efforts of General Molesworth. That was the type of British officer—sympathetic, ardent and receptive—which India needed.

The resiliency and potentiality of the Indian people to work for their internal defence had been proved, and when the winning of the peace came he hoped that their British friends would recognize the fact that India wished to stand full-statured and yet be linked with Great Britain. India wished to be independent, but not to cut herself adrift, they must have allies, and they could not have better allies than people represented by General Molesworth, who had spoken in friendship and pride of those whom he had trained. These were the things which cemented friendship, he very much wanted to see the British amalgam of which Captain Lalakaka had spoken disappear, leaving the indigenous material to be equal partners in the Commonwealth of the British people.

The vote of thanks was accorded by applause and the CHAIRMAN made a brief acknowledgment on behalf of himself and General Molesworth

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### RECEPTION TO LORD AND LADY WAVELL

A FAREWELL reception to Field-Marshal Lord Wavell and Lady Wavell was given by the Association at the Imperial Institute on the afternoon of September 21, 1943, when the guests included officers and men of the Fourth Indian Division, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel R. B. Scott, and many other members of the three Indian combatant Services. The guests were received by the President, Major-General Sir Frederick Sykes, M.P., and Lady Sykes, Lord and Lady Wavell, and Mr. and Mrs. L. S. Amery.

The attendance of nearly 500 members and friends constituted a record in the receptions given by the Association. Prior to the service of refreshments brief speeches were made by the President, the Secretary of State for India, and Field-Marshal Lord Wavell.

Major-General Sir FREDERICK SYKES M.P., on behalf of the Council of the Association, extended a hearty welcome to all present.

We are very happy, he added, in having the Secretary of State for India and Mrs. Amery here today. But I want to welcome Mr. Amery on your behalf and thank him for his promise to speak, and I also want to convey to our guest of honour, Field-Marshal Lord Wavell, our great pleasure in having him with us and the most sincere good wishes for his health and happiness and success in the great task which he is about to take up.

We know that Lord and Lady Wavell have many farewell functions to attend, but the Council felt it right and fitting that one gathering should be definitely of an Indian character, bearing in mind that our ability to arrange such a function is largely due to the generous grants made to the Association for hospitality purposes by H.H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda and H.H. the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior, and that we have also the co-operation of the National Indian Association.

Our Association, of which we are glad to think Lord Wavell is a subscribing member and Vice-President, has no partisan aims, its membership covers divergent views on India's problems and varying experience of life and service in that country. We are, however, united in one thing and that is in seeking the welfare of India, and it is in promotion of that great end that we are assembled to wish the Viceroy designate a successful and happy tenure of his high office.

It is impossible for me to mention by name the many guests whom we wish specially to welcome, but I must say how glad we are that the Governor of Burma, Sir Reginald Dorman-Smith, is with us today, and that His Excellency the Afghan Minister and His Excellency the Nepalese Minister have been able to join us.

PLATE I



E. J. Wavell talking with wife of the 1st Indian Division

PLATE II



ASIAN INDIAN ASSOCIATION, 11 EDITION TO LORD AND MARY WATSON  
Mr. Virendra Singh Mehta with his wife and their son with Indian Dignitaries

A special feature of this gathering which will have caught the eye of the great soldier we honour today is the presence of so many representatives of the fighting services of India. We have grown accustomed in the past three years to welcoming a group of officers and men from the Indian Contingent in this country. Their number here today is unavoidably small, nor is the commanding officer, a namesake of mine, able to be with us, though we welcome Mrs Sykes. But other sections of the Indian Army, also representatives of the Royal Indian Navy and young men under specialized training for the Indian Air Force are our guests.

And we give a very warm welcome also to representatives, now on a visit to this country, of the Fourth Indian Division, which has added fresh lustre to the renown of the Indian Army. We are delighted that these representatives include among them the winner of the Victoria Cross—Subedar Lall Bahadur Thapa. The members of the Division and all our Indian combatant guests will look back upon this memorable occasion with the greater pleasure since no fewer than five Field Marshals—including, of course, our principal guest—have accepted the invitation to be present.

The Rt Hon L. S. AMERY, Secretary of State for India, said that his words of welcome and of Godspeed on behalf of the gathering to Lord Wavell need only be very few. Those present had not come to hear speeches but to see and hear Lord Wavell, so that, with a more intimate touch, they could follow his fortunes during his years of Viceroyhood and feel with him in the great task he had undertaken. They would not expect Lord Wavell to tell them how he would fulfil that task. That very sagacious animal, the Indian elephant, always carefully tested bridges before he crossed them, and they might be sure that a no less sagacious soldier and statesman would test his ground in India very carefully before he announced definite action to deal with the immense problems, political and economic, as well as military, which lay before him. What could be gathered from his speech to the Pilgrims a few days before was what was more important even than policies worked out beforehand and that was the temper and spirit with which a man approached his problems and the character of the man who approached them. The spirit in which Lord Wavell had approached his problems was one of goodwill to India, of that plain good intention which Burke once described as one of the greatest forces in public life, and in the spirit of that essential modesty, he might almost say, humility, of a man who realized fully the difficulty and the greatness of the task before him, and yet not in the least afraid of facing it, but with a quiet hope and even confidence that he would surmount it successfully. That was the spirit in which Lord Wavell was undertaking the great duties which His Majesty had confided to him.

As to the man himself he was already sufficiently known to the world—at any rate to the British world, he thought also to the enemy world—to make it unnecessary for the speaker to say much about him. He had won himself a place among those great soldiers of whom he had written so well, his campaign in the Middle East, distinguished alike by the skill with which he bluffed his enemies into believing he had an army when he had not, and the swiftness of the strokes which he delivered first in one direction and then in another, and the completeness with which each stroke was followed up, would remain subjects for the military student for a long time to come. At any rate, for this country they were a ray of light in the darkness of that first disastrous winter which followed the collapse of France when we stood alone in the world among all our enemies. It was with a little contingent from every part of the Empire that Field Marshal Wavell saved the situation in the Middle East which was next, but only just next, to the security of this island as so vital to our survival in this war.

Mr Amery need say no more of him as a soldier, but it was not merely because he was a great soldier that this task of steering India through the later stages—he hoped the closing stages—of this terrible war had been confided to him. It was also because he was a man not only of wide experience in dealing with political problems, but because of that essentially statesmanlike, moderate and far-seeing attitude which, in the opinion of those who had to come to decisions, made him so eminently qualified to approach the most difficult, and at the same time, the speaker truly believed, the most hopeful task that had ever been set before British statesman-

## *Reception to Lord and Lady Wavell*

ship Nothing could contribute more to the happiness of the hundreds of millions who lived in India itself or to the peace of Asia and to the peace and welfare of the world, than that India should start upon that career which they all wished for her, in completely free control of her own destiny, united, at peace within her borders, strong and prosperous. Nothing, on the other hand, could bode worse for her own future and for that of the world than if she failed to solve her problems, if in weakness and discord she became a prey to the intrigues and ambitions of others, a source of unhappiness to herself, of weakness to the British Commonwealth and disaster to mankind.

It was that great alternative which confronted India today, and if in the choice between those alternatives she could be helped by the wisdom, the courage, and the generous outlook of one man they, his fellow-countrymen, would indeed be proud and happy.

The Viscount WAVELL, who was received with enthusiastic cheers, intimated that he would say only a very few words. He wished to thank the members of the Association for the reception they had given him and for the honour they had done him in making him a Vice President. He knew how much good work the Association had done, especially in war time, in maintaining discussions of Indian affairs and providing entertainment for Indian visitors, including those from the three Services. While he had been at home he had seen something—not as much as he would have liked—of Indians over here and he had been greatly impressed by what was being done for them—much of it by the Association. It gave him particular pleasure that Sir Frederick Sykes had spoken on his behalf because he was a very old friend of his soldiering days.

He felt it was presumptuous for him as one of five Field Marshals, of whom he was the most junior, and in the presence of his old teacher in the military art, General Sir George Barrow, to say much about the military side of Indian affairs. There were present representatives of all the three Indian Services. He had rather hoped that Admiral Fitzherbert might have been there to represent the Royal Indian Navy, because he had done remarkable work during his five years as Flag-Officer Commanding the Indian Navy, in raising it to the standard of strength and efficiency which it now had. He was very glad to see such a strong contingent of the Indian Air Force. Shortly before he left India he attended the tenth birthday party of the Indian Air Force and realized what an extremely healthy infant it was and how very fast it was growing.

He had left to the last the Indian Army to which he felt he owed a very great debt, and especially the Fourth Division, whose representatives were present. The Secretary of State had mentioned what a small force there was in the Middle East in the winter of 1940-41, and the backbone of that force was that magnificent Fourth Division. It was due to the soldiers that India sent and the material she supplied that we held the Middle East, and that debt must never be forgotten. Without that Indian assistance we could not have held the Middle East, and the holding of Egypt, the Suez Canal and the countries which formed the Middle East had been the key stone of our present successes.

Of his task in India he would not say much. The Secretary of State had said that the sagacious elephant always tested a bridge before he crossed it, but 'this sagacious elephant' had got to find a bridge, and no one realized better the difficulties and dangers which were ahead. But no one realized better two other things, one was the great feeling of goodwill there was in all classes in England towards India and a desire to help her, and the second was the magnificent opportunity in front of India if she could find the right path as he hoped she would. If he could do anything to help her on to that path he should be only too proud and happy to do so. On behalf of Lady Wavell and himself he thanked the Association most heartily for their kind hospitality and their good wishes.

The formal part of the reception was then ended. Members and guests partook of tea, and social intercourse followed.

## BURMA TODAY AND TOMORROW

ADDRESS BY SIR REGINALD DORMAN-SMITH

At a private meeting of the Association on Tuesday, October 12, 1943, at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, H E the Rt Hon Sir Reginald Dorman-Smith, G B E, Governor of Burma, gave an address on that country

The President of the Association, Major-General the Rt Hon Sir FREDERICK SYKES, M P, took the chair, and thanked Sir Reginald for coming to speak to the Association, the more so as he was just recovering from an attack of fever. Most of them realized the enormous complexities of the situation with which he had had to deal and felt great sympathy for him. Although at this distance it was hard to follow events accurately, his great steadfastness in carrying on his work was recognized. The story of Burma was a most moving one, and all hoped that the enemy would be cleared out as soon as possible.

**Sir REGINALD DORMAN SMITH** I am not going to talk so much about what happened in the past or very much about the invasion. They were difficult and terrible times, and I do not think that anybody who has not seen an invasion and what it means can possibly hope to conjure up in his mind the full picture of the suffering and horror of it.

Burma was unprepared for invasion, there is no question about that, but when I look back on what was happening in this country just after the time of Dunkirk and how we were trying hard to prepare for invasion, with the whole country just working for one end, it is possible to realize what it meant when we saw invasion drawing near. Great Britain was fortunate inasmuch that her invasion preparations were never tested, as far as Burma was concerned; invasion was on her almost before we could realize that it was in fact a possibility and I think the fact that we were in those troublous times able to get out something like half a million foreign refugees—because from the Burmese point of view they were foreigners—reflects very great credit on those civil officers who were concerned with doing it, and also the very greatest credit on the forbearance and really good feelings of the Burmese people themselves, and that is very important.

I am delighted to have this opportunity to talk to you about Burma. All who love that country—and that is just about 100 per cent of those who have served there—will agree that it is utterly desirable to have as large a body as possible of British public opinion well informed on Burmese affairs. A formidable task lies ahead of us in that part of the world even after we have beaten the Japanese. Whether we succeed or fail in our task depends to a very large degree on the attitude towards Burma of people in this country. It will be for Great Britain to decide on the ultimate destiny of Burma; it will be for our Parliament to decide on the amount of money which can be allocated for the reconstruction and rehabilitation of Burma, presumably it will be for the great departments in Whitehall to decide where Burma will come on the priority list for the supplies which will be vital to those to whom the task of reconstruction is entrusted. Therefore the more people who know about Burma and who can take an intelligent interest in her affairs—and from time to time if needs be give an intelligent prod to the powers that be—the better pleased I for one will be.

I confess I found some difficulty in knowing how to tackle my subject today. Your Association has had more than one very able address on Burma of the past—addresses from men really qualified to speak, much more qualified than I am. Most of you will probably have read one or more of the spate of books which have been written about the invasion of Burma, remarkable books some of them which do more credit to the authors' powers of invention than to their search after truth! Of Burma's future constitutional position I, of course, can add nothing to the last reply given by the Secretary of State for Burma in the House of Commons, while our information about what is happening in Burma now is scanty.

### PREPARING FOR THE FUTURE

It seemed to me, therefore, that there was very little for me to talk about until a candid friend put this question to me. What, he asked, 'do you do with your self all day in Simla, and why are you still Governor of a country which is no longer governable by you?' A very pertinent question, which I will now endeavour to answer.

Quite apart from the day-to-day work of the Government—such vastly important duties as helping to care for the host of refugees and doing what we can to ease their lot and of looking after our own Government servants—our main functions are two-fold. (1) Assisting the military authorities in those parts of Burma which are still in our hands and in building up an efficient Civil Affairs Service which will go back with the Army, and (2) working out our plans both for the physical reconstruction of Burma and for its future governance.

I find, to my surprise, that many people believe that Burma is completely occupied by the Japanese—but that is not so, and that belief does but scant justice to the remarkable performance put up by our hill tribes, the Chins and Kachins, who have remained staunch and loyal—who never gave up, and who have been a pain in the neck to the Japanese ever since they poked their nasty little noses into the hills where they reside. When the story of what happened in these hills comes to be written it will be a remarkable and a thrilling story—one of devotion, heroism and sheer guts! The exploits of the Chin and the Kachin Levies must live in history. At first ill armed and ill-equipped often short of food they stood up to the hitherto 'invincible' invader. They have taught him that there are still one or two little tricks in jungle warfare which he did not know. By their own efforts they have killed a satisfying number of Japanese, and by performing such services as indicating targets to the Anglo-American Air Forces they have contributed to the death of many others.

### BURMAN SUPPORT

I have seen more than once somewhat critical comparisons made between the behaviour of say the Filipinos who fought with the Americans and the Burmans but here is one answer. These hillmen who are Burmans have continued to fight for us both as organized bodies under British officers and as enthusiastic irregulars. When Brigadier Wingate's expedition went in it was accompanied by regular Burman troops who acquitted themselves very well indeed. The Burma Navy—a small force—still functions and has performed its task in a way which has brought forth high praise from the Naval authorities. No in spite of all that has happened and has been written Burma's soldiers, sailors, guerrillas and levies still fight on. I hope that Great Britain will not forget that and only remember that Burma also produced what was known as the 'Traitor Army' which was grossly over advertised in the popular press. I venture to say that the patriot forces now at work have done infinitely more damage to the Japanese than that Traitor Army ever did to us. We must not lose sight of that fact and condemn all Burmans for the fault of a few.

We are still administering a large Frontier Division which comprises the Chin Hills, Upper Chindwin, the Naga Hills and the Kachin Hills. Our Civil officers are still at their posts working under the operational control of the military authorities and I would pay the highest tribute to those officers both of the Indian Civil Service, Burma Civil Service and the Frontier Service, who are grappling nobly with both the old problems and the new ones which war has brought.

In India we are engaged on setting up the Burma Civil Affairs Service which will be attached to the Supreme Command. I suppose that this service can be called our A.M.G.O.T., but Burma presents such a different set of problems to the re-occupation of any European enemy-occupied territory that the comparison is really not very close. To accompany our forces back to Burma we have a large number of civilian officers of all services—the Civil Services, Forests, Agricultural Department and the like who have spent many years in Burma—who know the people intimately and who have a host of personal friends among the Burmese. I do not refer only to European officers—there are Burman, Anglo-Burman and Indian officers, too many of whom had to leave their families and relations behind.

We will not be returning to a country which is strange to us. We will be going back to a British country whose inhabitants are British citizens, with all the privileges and obligations which such citizenship confers. We will be going back to liberate our own people from Japanese bondage—and that is a matter of no little importance.

#### THE RETURN TO BURMA

I have often been asked whether the Burmese will welcome us back. It is pointed out that whatever we may say the Burmese did produce a "Traitor Army" against us, it is common knowledge that they were an extremely nationalistic people carrying on a fight for freedom from our rule even before the invasion came, they still have a Burma Defence Army, some of which, at least, will probably fight against us, the Japanese have granted freedom to Burma and given Burma all the trappings of freedom—she now has a Burmese Commander-in-Chief in charge of her own national army—she has sent out her Ambassadors to Tokyo, Manchuria and Bangkok, she has her own Foreign Minister. The district administration is run by her own people. Will she welcome the reappearance of British officials, or of British and Indian business men? Will not whatever we may do appear to take away this freedom which she has acquired, and will her people not resist our return, thereby making it necessary for us to deal very firmly indeed with them?

All those are very pertinent questions, and would seem to open up a wide field of work for our propagandists who will have not only to explain our true intentions to the Burmese people, but will also have to explain Burma and the Burmese mentality to such of our troops as may have the privilege of freeing Burma from the Japanese. For my part I am convinced that, provided we make the right approach from the word go, our forces going into Burma will receive the same sort of welcome as that accorded to Brigadier Wingate's men—a welcome which left but little to be desired.

Let us look at things from the point of view of the ordinary Burman. It must be terribly difficult for him to decide in his own mind just who is going to be the arbiter of his fate. He has seen us disappear in a cloud of dust hotly pursued by our victorious enemy. We know that that is only a temporary condition of affairs and that the ultimate defeat of Japan is only a matter of time. But the Burmans have not got the same sources of information as we have on which to arrive at a similar conclusion. I do not suppose that there are many wireless sets operating in Burma which can pick up our broadcasts, whereas the whole press there is strictly controlled by the Japs and one can presume that the Ba Maw administration is using every means open to it to put over such propaganda as their Japanese masters want. The course of the war in Europe will not mean nearly so much to the Burmese. Events in Russia or Italy are not so important as what has happened, say, in Arakan. To them the Arakan campaign will have been magnified into a disastrous attempt on our part to reconquer the whole of Burma. The Wingate expedition will have been written up as another defeat in that this force withdrew back to India—that it had never any intention of doing anything else after it had achieved its object will not be mentioned! And, of course, the fact that we have not attempted as yet any major operations against the Japanese in Burma will be used as proof that we are incapable of beating the invincible Japanese Army. Needless to say, we are doing all we can to correct these views.

#### IN BONDAGE TO THE JAPANESE

It is generally agreed among those who can claim to know Burma that once we have shown our ability to beat the Japanese we will have no lack of friends and genuine friends at that. Quite apart from the fact that historically the Burmese villagers have always been inclined in any great upheaval—and who will blame them?—not to commit themselves until they have seen who is going to come out on top, there are good practical reasons why they should welcome release from Japanese bondage, for such it is despite all this grandiose talk about freedom. I do not delude myself into thinking that the Burmese will welcome us back just for the sake of our blue eyes and curly hair—nor do I imagine for one moment that they will discard

their nationalist aspirations—and indeed I do not see why they should—but there is no reason at all to suppose that they have anything but dislike for the Japanese, and many reasons to believe that even that small minority who thought that they could obtain freedom by using the Japanese to drive us out and then in time get the Japanese out, are now sad, sorry and disillusioned men.

At the beginning of the Japanese occupation, the invaders treated the Burmese in a very high handed way, they heaped indignities on the hpongyis, they paid but scant respect to sacred ground, they entered the monasteries with their boots on, and we are told they even went so far as to build latrines in the grounds of these hpongyikyaungs. It is further reported that so bad was the treatment meted out to these monks that many of them have discarded the yellow robe through fear. We know that there were good hpongyis and bad hpongyis, but we also know how greatly all of them were revered by the villagers who are not likely to forget these insults, especially coming from those who posed as being Buddhists themselves.

Burmese women, too, have suffered cruelly at the hands of the Japanese, who in the early stages raped and molested them without let or hindrance, just as they raped and molested the women of China, and though now the behaviour of the Japanese soldiers is said to be better the Burmese are not likely to forget or to forgive. So one could go on with this deplorable story. We are told, for instance, that at first the most ruthless methods were employed to put down crime, decapitation being the favourite punishment meted out by the Japanese though other less refined methods of dealing with prisoners were not neglected. If past history is any guide this sort of ferocity only tends to harden the hearts of the Burmese and most certainly does not eow him—nor does it induce in him a feeling of friendship towards the perpetrators.

#### ECONOMIC DISTRESS

As far as we can make out the Burmese have less than nothing to be thankful for to the Japanese on the economic side. Paddy prices have dropped but all other necessities of life have risen in price tremendously if indeed they can be bought at all. Chillies have risen from Rs. 45 per 100 viss which was the pre invasion price to Rs. 260 in March 1943. Over the same period the cheapest longyi had risen from Rs. 2 to Rs. 19. Sesamum oil from Rs. 75 to Rs. 320 and jiggery from Rs. 30 to about Rs. 100. Those are just some examples of the trend of prices from which we can deduce that the economic position of the people is pretty precarious. This is borne out by one report which I think is significant. The State Lottery was reopened in August 1942 the draw being on November 15 of that year. The sale of tickets produced only Rs. 28 lakhs as against the Rs. 15 to Rs. 20 lakhs collected quarterly under the old régime. This tells its own story bearing in mind the ingrained love of the Burmese for a good or even a bad gamble.

All these are surely good reasons to expect that the Burmese will welcome liberation from Japan—but let us probe deeper.

#### FRIENDSHIPS WITH BURMANS

What were our real relations with the Burmans? Here obviously I can only speak with second hand knowledge but it does seem to me that in the districts as opposed to the big centres of urban population our relations were extremely good—and I say that because I find that very nearly 100 per cent of my own officers and of non officials long to return to Burma and have nothing but a deep affection for the Burmese. That could not be so unless they had been on intimate terms of friendship with the people among whom they lived as it takes two to make a friendship, and really this affection is one of the deepest things I have seen.

Let us not forget one point. Politics in the modern world count for a lot. But politicians may fulminate against this and that, Governors and Whitehall may say and do the wrong sort of things politically, newspaper editors can excel in the art of vituperation but nothing can prevent human friendships growing up, and nothing did prevent that in Burma, friendships which were deep and capable of being sustained in the face of disaster. Therein lies the strength of our bond with Burma—in that chain of human friendships which pray God will never be broken. All who go

back in the Civil Affairs Service will be going back to old friends and in many cases, as I have said, to relations, too. There will be no hostile reception unless, out of sheer ignorance which should not be allowed to exist, our troops go back as though they were entering a hostile country and behave accordingly.

That is a danger which did exist, but which I hope is daily disappearing. The troops which fought in Burma had a most unpleasant time. They had but few people with them who could either speak Burmese or could claim to know how to approach the people which meant that through lack of understanding there were regrettable incidents during our retreat. We hope that that mistake will not be repeated, but that formations will have with them officers and N.C.O.s who will be able to help our troops of all nationalities not to make those kind of mistakes which will quite inevitably breed hostility in the breasts of the Burmese, who are a quick-tempered, virile people, by no means content to accept with equanimity what they consider to be injustice—and who would dare to blame them for that?

#### THE POLITICAL ASPECT

I have spoken about the strength of the mutual friendships which exist between individuals. It would, however, be quite wrong to ignore the political aspect. Politically minded Burmans, and indeed many foreign countries, too, will be wondering just what our intentions towards Burma are. Do we really mean to lead them on to the goal of full self government, or have we some reservation at the back of our minds which will mean that self government will always be round the corner and never an accomplished fact?

I do not pretend to be skilled in Far Eastern affairs. I have only seen Great Britain in eclipse there, but one thing I can say with some surety and that is that neither our word nor our intentions are trusted in that part of the globe. The reason for that is not far to seek. We have fed such countries as Burma on political formulae until they are sick of the very sight and the very sound of a formula, which has come, as far as my experience shows, to be looked upon as a very British means of avoiding a definite course of action. Our formulae have puzzled not only our enemies but also our friends because they have been hard to interpret to either friend or foe.

#### CIVIL AFFAIRS SERVICE

But this is a digression from telling you about the formation of our Civil Affairs Service. Whether pseudo-soldiers or civilians, their first and paramount duty will be to ensure that military requirements are met during the operational stage in Burma. That is elementary. One of those military requirements will surely be that the country should be tranquil. Civil officers will have to make a great contribution towards this end—but if they are to succeed they must be given assistance. I think they will agree that the sort of assistance which they will most need will not be military escorts so much as the consumer goods which the people require and of which they have been starved. Ask any civilian officer who is booked to go back to Burma which he would sooner have with him—a consignment of the necessities of life or a platoon of soldiers, and I think you will always get the same answer—the consignment of goods.

Now I appreciate the difficulties about providing goods. We are in a total war, our factories and workers are producing munitions and not consumer goods. That is perfectly true, and all that I can ask is that it will be realized that consumer goods can under certain circumstances be an important factor in a campaign—and that a store of simple commodities may well release an important number of troops for fighting purposes instead of being locked up on internal security jobs. With the help of our business men the Civilian Affairs Service are working out their civil goods requirements, which I hope will be given the priority which they deserve.

#### MILITARY ADMINISTRATION

I would only express one hope which may bring down coals of fire on my humble head. I most sincerely hope that our Civil Affairs Service will have a very short

life—as short as it will be useful to the military authorities. This means that I hope that the military authorities will be in charge of civil affairs in Burma for the shortest possible time. I have the greatest respect for our military leaders, but I think that they would be the first to agree that civil administration is not their line of country, and it is only reasonable to suppose that a civil government can run civil affairs better than a military administration. I am convinced that it would be a grave mistake to keep on a military administration for one day longer than is necessary for purely operational purposes within Burma. So much for that side of our work. I would ask you just to keep this picture in your mind. (1) That a considerable portion of the Burma which you see on your maps is still being administered by Government of Burma officers, (2) that we are engaged on organizing and perfecting a Civil Affairs Service which will accompany the forces back to Burma and which will absorb all our available personnel.

#### LONG TERM PLANNING

Now I want to say something about our planning for the future. At this stage I cannot give you any details of our future programme as this has not yet taken final shape—indeed, it will be impossible to reach finality in many directions until after our return to Burma. All that I can do is to tell you of some of the problems which face us and of our approach to Reconstruction Work which is being studied both in India by my Reconstruction Department and by the Burma Office in London.

Planning is a contentious matter. To some it is the very breath of life—to others it is anathema, conjuring up as it does visions of a number of long haired idealists trying to build a brave new world on airy fancies. In our case planning has been forced upon us by circumstances. The Japanese have brought devastation to Burma, her towns have been destroyed, her communications smashed, her trade and industry virtually if not entirely brought to a standstill and her whole life halted for the time being. Clearly a tremendous task lies ahead of us to repair those damages—a task which is a challenge to our statesmanship and our ability—but it would be idle to hope that we will be able to answer that challenge unless we lay our plans carefully beforehand.

I do not think anybody will disagree about the need for planning for Burma's physical reconstruction if only because immediately after the war supplies needed to meet civil requirements will not be easy to obtain and it is essential now to estimate and to state our requirements. But it may be asked Is there any real need to do more than deal with physical reconstruction?

I am convinced that the answer is yes—that need does exist. From our point of view the easiest course would be to say There was nothing much the matter with Burma in the past. The administration worked tolerably well. The mass of the people were tolerably happy. Let us therefore content ourselves with re-creating the Burma which existed before the invasion. That would be the easiest way, but if we adopted that course we would be failing miserably in our duty towards the Burmese people, because, to put it mildly, though there was much which was admirable in our past administration, there was also much which was capable of improvement and much which must be done if real happiness is to reign in Burma.

First of all let me try to define our objective. This country is committed to the policy of guiding Burma to the goal of full self government. That was the policy of His Majesty's Government before the invasion and still is the policy, as stated by Mr Amery recently in the House of Commons. Our aim therefore surely must be to build up a contented Burma—one which will be a proud and a willing partner in that great Commonwealth of Nations which owes allegiance to His Majesty the King—a Burma which will have no wish whatsoever to contract out of the empire, and a Burma which will be prepared to shoulder the responsibilities which self government brings as well as to accept its privileges.

It is along these lines that we have approached our reconstruction problems. We have attempted to examine the past in a realistic way—and from the lessons which the past has taught us we are endeavouring to hammer out practical solutions to the many serious problems which undoubtedly did worry the body politic of Burma—

problems which not only created discontent but which from time to time led to disorders and bloodshed. Unless and until the right solutions are found and put into operation it will be idle to expect a contented country and a willing partner.

#### A NECESSARY TEST

We have naturally tried to look at the problems, not only through our own British eyes but also through Burmese eyes. It has seemed to us to be essential to test all our plans and ideas by the question, Are these the sort of notions which the Burmans themselves would want to adopt, or would they scrap them at the very first opportunity and substitute something else which would be more suitable to their own natural genius and to their own mentality?

That is an important test which must be applied, since it has surely been demonstrated beyond all shadow of doubt that there is but little virtue in merely foisting upon an Eastern people Western ideas and Western institutions and expecting every thing to work smoothly. The Burmese, like all other people, have their own ideas about things which may not coincide with our ideas, they have their own ways of doing things which may not be our ways—and if for what we consider to be their greater good we neglect to take the mentality and the outlook of the Burmese into consideration, and into full consideration at that, then we will only be steering for trouble and disappointment on both sides.

When I say that we try all the time to look at our problems through Burmese eyes, I do not mean that we and our Burmese colleagues are thinking simply and solely from a narrow Burmese nationalist viewpoint. Burma has more than one pressing problem which never will be solved by a policy of isolation and narrow nationalism, and this is recognized just as readily by those Burmans with whom I have come into contact as it is by us.

We have got to face the fact, however unpalatable it may be, that in the past Burma was not a happy country in a political sense. It was not so long ago that we had to cope with a serious rebellion, there have been riots and communal disturbances, there was a constant and a sustained demand for freedom from every political platform and in every vernacular newspaper. The youth of the country was in a sad state of indiscipline, serious crime showed no tendency to decrease, and I have heard it suggested that one reason for this was because the police were compelled to concentrate their energies all too much on political disturbances which were almost endemic in years previous to the war.

It is true that since 1937 Burma has enjoyed a greater degree of domestic self government than I think any other unit of the Empire with the exception of the self governing Dominions.

Make no mistake, Burma had progressed far along the road to self government. As this audience will know, she had her own Legislature which was elected on a remarkably wide franchise. The Council of Ministers who were responsible to the Legislature had full power to fashion and mould domestic policy, all the so-called nation building departments were under their direct control, as were the forces of law and order. But the fact remained that in spite of the wide field in which the Legislature had to work, there was a general feeling of discontent.

#### FREEDOM

One vital question from our point of view is how deep-rooted within the ordinary people was the desire for freedom. This, I have come to learn, is a very contentious question, which has been the subject of hot debate. One school of thought will argue that the cry for freedom was purely a political cry and a cry of the towns which found but little echo among the villagers who really are Burma. These villagers, it is argued, were mainly concerned with such matters as the price they got for their produce and the degree of security which Government gave them against dacoits and criminals. In fact, they were not so worried about the type of Government or who governed them as they were about the results produced by the Government. On the other hand, others will argue that this is a most dangerous premise on which to proceed, and that on the contrary Burmese nationalism is definitely a potent force in the everyday life of the villages of which due note must be taken.

Which view is right? Naturally I hesitate to pass any opinion, not having lived among the villagers, but I think that it would be very strange if the villagers were completely disinterested in the destiny of their country, and I cannot but think that it would be highly dangerous to dismiss Burmese nationalism as something of no account. It is probably true that the ordinary Burman villager is no great politician, but with the widening of the franchise political questions were being brought more and more to his notice and political activity was penetrating into the villages, which must have been fertile ground for the politician.

My hope is that in the future we will be able to harness this feeling of patriotism and to direct the enthusiasm of Burmese youth into channels of service to their country in other walks of life besides Government service. Burma must have more of her young people trained for business and commerce, as doctors and veterinary surgeons, as engineers and accountants, so that they can take a real part in the life of their country. It is up to the Government and to business firms to provide the education and the opportunities, while it is up to the Burmans themselves to provide the necessary personnel for training, as no country can succeed if its youths' ambitions are confined to becoming either civil servants, lawyers or politicians. But I repeat that it is our duty to provide adequate training and opportunities in other directions.

Next it is important to find out just what the Burmese mean by the word "free dom." Even the Burmese themselves will agree they have not sought to define this word precisely, but it must be defined. I suppose that, speaking broadly, they would say that they would like to get back to the same sort of freedom which they enjoyed but a short time ago under their own kings. Then Burma conducted her own affairs and ran her own administration through Burmese officials. According to Western standards this administration may not have been 100 per cent efficient—but at least it was Burmese.

There is, however, some danger lest in Burmese minds freedom may have become confused with licence to do precisely what they may wish to do without thinking about anyone else but themselves. I can say that I have never met a Burman who when it is put to him has failed to recognize that nowadays freedom carries with it heavy responsibilities. No nation can do just what it likes and get away with it for long, and especially is that true of a small nation like Burma, which is sandwiched in between powerful neighbours, which in the past has had to rely on foreign capital for the development of her resources and which will have for some long time to continue to rely on such outside help—and a small country which also relies so much on selling her goods for export to overseas markets. Even a great country like our own is tied down by treaties, trade agreements and the like, most of which restrict our full liberty of action in one way or another. When a country oversteps the bounds of proper conduct then very unpleasant things are liable to happen. Burma must understand this elementary tact of international life, and I for one see no reason why she should not understand it and conduct herself accordingly. Free dom is a hard worked word these days. I sometimes wonder whether we are not in danger of forgetting that it is a word which can mean different things to different people, and whether in order to avoid future misunderstandings and disappointment we should not ourselves tell such countries as Burma more precisely than we have done in the past what we mean by the word.

#### A SENSE OF FRUSTRATION

I have said that it seemed to me that Burma was suffering from a bad dose of frustration. May I for a few moments examine some of the causes of this malaise as they might appear to a Burmese politician trying to win votes—in other words, at a time when all politicians are at their worst? This is not intended to be an exhaustive study of this question or anything but a one-sided picture, but merely an indication of the kind of points which we will have to meet if we are to succeed in creating a genuinely co-operative Burma.

It is abundantly clear to me that the very first thing on which we must concentrate is the well-being of the villager. That is fundamental. Such matters as the ownership of land, of the provision of credit at reasonable rates, of marketing agric-

cultural produce—all these questions and many others, too, must be examined, and preliminary decisions reached if we are to fulfil what we all consider to be our duty to Burma. As far as education is concerned, we have to work out whether our educational system in the past was satisfactory, whether it was producing what we wanted it to produce, was it doing its duty towards Burma? Then we have the other questions of health, of prisons, of police—all of which are being examined. Our approach must be ‘What is going to be for the ultimate good of Burma itself?’

We are trying to get preliminary decisions now, because it would be the very height of midsummer madness to suppose that we, sitting in Simla and in London, could lay down in advance hard and fast plans. Such decisions at which we may arrive now must obviously be elastic and capable of being altered to meet the actual conditions which we may find on our return. Burma has been through a profound experience, she has suffered one invasion already—and let no one talk of invasion who has not experienced it—she is now being subjected to air bombardment, which increases in intensity as the days go by—she has suffered a period of Japanese military occupation, and it looks as though once again she will have to become a major battle ground. What effect all this will have on the mentality and outlook of the Burmese we do not know yet, but one may presume that it will have had a very sobering effect—at least, that is the view held by my Burmese advisers.

#### FLEXIBLE PLANS

I would like to assure this audience that we are not trying to make inelastic plans, and that we realize to the full that such plans as we do make cannot be applied straight away in a lump. Many of these plans will be long term plans, my only hope is that when we go in we shall be able to get off ‘on the right foot’ and to lay a foundation for a very much happier and better Burma than there has been at any time in her history. Much will depend on what the people of Great Britain do about it. It will be a very expensive business, a whole country cannot be destroyed with out repayment being made in some way or another, and I hope that when the time comes for the struggle which we shall have with the Treasury the Treasury will be aware that there is a public opinion in this country which will say ‘We were unable to carry out our duties towards Burma’—because it was our duty to defend Burma and we were not able to do so—we had to leave her to the tender mercies of a bitter enemy but we have an opportunity to repay what seems to us who were engaged in Burma to be a tremendous debt of honour, and we must do so.

I do hope we shall get as much public support as we can, and I hope that this Association which is very influential, will help us to help Burma by trying to put her case forward on every possible occasion to the country as a whole.

#### THE DISCUSSION

The CHAIRMAN said that they had heard an extraordinarily interesting address, and were left with a very large number of problems to think over. One point which had struck him was the immense field of work which would open up when Burma was cleared and when peace came in Asia.

Sir Reginald had touched upon many points of which he would only mention one or two. The first was the difference between any European occupied country and its release from that of Burma. He hoped that Sir Reginald's words would carry very far, because it was a very different matter to enter Burma thinking of the Burmese as a hostile population than if we entered recognizing their worth and recognizing that only by treating them fairly and without undue rigour should we ensure that the population would welcome the British. The Japanese granted freedom to Burma, but that ‘freedom’ would be a very different matter from that which would be granted in future years.

One of the greatest factors brought out by Sir Reginald was the question of Governmental indecision. It was difficult with the intervening distances for decisions to be given or taken on the spot. He sometimes looked back to the old days when there were no telephones, ships were very scarce, and the man on the spot was empowered to do what he could to the best of his ability.

Sir Reginald had referred also to the question of planning. He did not know how they were going to struggle with the planners in this country, but plans which were not practical would not succeed. With regard to the question of reconstruction, he thought that the Treasury was one of the most difficult obstacles to overcome. He would like to thank Sir Reginald personally for his illuminating address.

Sir HENRY CRAW said there was one point which he would like to have made a little more clear. There had been so many tales spread as to the war in Burma that he wished Sir Reginald could let people know a little more as to the authenticity of the tales regarding Burmese resistance to the British Army. Sir Reginald also mentioned in the earlier part of his lecture that some Burmans went with Brigadier Wingate. Burman had various meanings and could cover quite a number of different nationalities, and it would be interesting to know whether they were real Burmans, not hill tribes, who were concerned in Brigadier Wingate's expedition.

SIR REGINALD DORMAN SMITH replied that it was very difficult to get down to the Fifth Column activities and assess them, but one must differentiate between the number of people who helped the Japanese during the retreat and the number who, after the British had gone, were persuaded to join the National Army. They were two quite separate things. The military estimated that up to Prome there were some 3,000 to 4,000 Burmese acting against us out of a population of over 16 million. Afterwards, when the British had gone, a great many more joined the Burma Defence Army, but why should they not do so? They were running the country. Up to the very end in Burma civil officers were going round their districts always unescorted, and unarmed, and he did not hear of a single case where they were even insulted. If the Burmese population had been entirely anti British or pro Japanese he did not believe that one of the officers would have got away, as it was they received nothing but kindness the whole way through. He himself would not have escaped if the Burmans had not wanted him to do so. He received nothing but kindness wherever he went. Of course the Traitor Army was a grand story for the press. With regard to the Wingate expedition there were undoubtedly actual Burmese engaged alongside Wingate's men. The Burma Navy was mostly manned by Burmese.

SIR ARTHUR PAGE said that most of them came for two reasons, one of which was to know what sort of person the Governor of Burma was and how he would put his case. He was bound to say that he was impressed, and from that point of view was glad to make his acquaintance. The second reason was that they came to receive information rather than to give advice. The great difficulty was that we had not the faintest notion of what Burma had gone through or what was likely to be done with her in the future.

He appreciated and applauded and would do all he could to forward the enthusiasm with which the Governor viewed the friendships in the past and the possible friendships of the future between Europeans and Burmans, but he thought he must say that he felt they should not rely upon that at all. He did not believe that 5 per cent of Burmans cared one rap for Europeans, not because they were the governing party, but because they were foreigners. They had the Mongolian out look and had not the slightest interest in any Westerner whatsoever.

On the other hand, they must see that Burma would be, if possible, a self governing unity within the British Commonwealth of Nations. How could that be accomplished? Not because they liked the British but for some other reason. He was glad to hear Sir Reginald say that it was not necessarily right to impose upon other people our own policy. It was ridiculous to try to make people who had no notion of democracy accept a democratic Government. Something must be done to help the Burmans on the road to self government, but they should not attempt to give them so heavy a meal that they could not digest it. That was the trouble at the moment, they had been given too much, nevertheless, they must have an increasing body of influence amongst themselves to enable them to take more and more part in the Government.

There was only one way in which the Burmans would be made contented they

would never like us, but they would join the Commonwealth if they were given some security of tenure of their own property. We had not done what we should have done to enable the Burman to be what he was by nature and instinct, it was essential that he should own his land, and if we could give them this security they would be content. If we did not, it would not matter what was offered to them they would never like us. If they were given security of tenure, one portion, at any rate, would voluntarily keep within the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Sir REGINALD DORMAN-SMITH, in reply, said he would like to hear an argument between Sir Arthur Page and some of the district officers who had worked in the districts and did not know Rangoon very well whether their friendships were precisely as Sir Arthur had said. He had not lived in the villages and was in Burma only for a very short time, but his impression was that the officers valued their friendships with the Burmese very highly, and he believed that the Burmese valued their friendships with the officers highly. He could only say that those officers who had been back to Burma had been received as old friends, and he thought that Sir Arthur Page was taking a gloomy view of it.

As far as security of tenure and getting the Burmese back to their land were concerned, those were among the things foremost in their minds. In Lower Burma the land had passed more and more into the hands of alien landlords, and he did not believe there could be any real happiness until an agrarian policy had been properly evolved. This was one of the things on which the very best minds were working, and it was one of the things on which they would have to approach the Treasury.

Sir ARTHUR PAGE wished to make it clear that on the question of friendship he was talking about the Burmans generally as Mongols, not of their own personal friends.

Lady PAGE confirmed her husband's last statement. She had an enormous number of friends in Rangoon and she was sorry to hear her husband speak as he did.

Sir CHARLES INNES proposed a vote of thanks to Sir Reginald Dorman-Smith. He had laid the Association under a deep debt of gratitude, not only for his talk but for the great compliment of telling them frankly what was in his mind. That was why they had listened to his address with the greatest possible interest. He was very glad that Sir Reginald had taken the opportunity to give an authoritative denial to all the stories which had been spread about. He had looked forward to the future and that had made his address even more interesting.

There was no doubt that Sir Reginald had a stiff task ahead of him. First of all, the Japanese had to be cleared out of Burma, which could be left to Lord Louis Mountbatten, but when that was done Sir Reginald would come into his own, and he was delighted to hear that he was getting down to the planning of that subject. It was the speaker's own belief that the really practical thing to do when Burma was released and when the military had left would be to get the physical reconstruction and rehabilitation of the country commenced. He agreed it would be a matter for the Treasury, and he also agreed that the British people must regard reconstruction in Burma as a debt of honour, for we had not protected Burma as we had undertaken to do. No one ever thought of danger from Japan, and he hoped the Government would go to the assistance of Burma in a liberal spirit so that she might start life again with some measure of success.

The vote of thanks was accorded by applause and the meeting ended.

## POSSIBILITIES OF AN INDIAN SETTLEMENT

BY PROFESSOR R COUPLAND, C.I.E

BRITISH public opinion is disappointed at the breakdown in the process of Indian constitutional development. Since 1919 it had been hoped that India would take her place in course of time as a full member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. When the Act of 1935 was passed the time seemed likely to be short. If the whole Act had come into force it seems probable that, under the impact of the war, India would be enjoying Dominion Status *de facto* now.

Whatever British shortcomings may have been, it is Indians who have been mainly responsible for the frustration of these hopes. National unity was the necessary preliminary to Dominion nationhood. Canada and South Africa could not become Dominions till the French and British Canadians and the Dutch and British South Africans had agreed as to the form of national government they wanted. Australia could not become a Dominion till the States had composed their sectional differences. Because the northern Protestants and southern Catholics could not agree, Ireland has been partitioned, and only part of it has acquired Dominion Status. Similarly, India cannot achieve nationhood unless agreement can be reached as to the national constitution first between the Hindus and Muslims of British India, and, secondly, between the Provinces and the States. I am here concerned only with the possibilities of a British Indian settlement. If that is achieved the problem of the States ought not to be insuperable.

The cause of the recent widening of the gulf between Hindus and Muslims is unmistakable. It was due to the Congress Party's desire to take the British Government's place by itself. If this was a natural desire on the part of a revolutionary nationalist organisation, the Muslim League's reaction to it was also natural. For it meant a permanent Hindu Raj not only in the seven Hindu majority Provinces but also at the Centre. Rather than that, the League with the bulk of Muslim opinion behind it, has committed itself to Pakistan. Is Partition, then, inevitable? Cannot Muslim claims be met in a united India? Those questions can only be answered by Indians. British students of the Indian problem can only speculate as to what this answer may possibly be.

### THE PROVINCES

First, the Provincial Constitutions (which need not be identical) Parliamentary government of the old British type has proved unsuitable to Indian conditions. One-party majority rule requires a sufficiently homogeneous society. In India it means that, as long as parties are dominantly communal, the minority communities never share in government. The principle of "separate electorates" if applied to the Legislature, should logically apply to the Executive as well. The Congress decision in favour of "pure" Congress Governments in the Congress Provinces was the major factor in the intensification of communal antagonism. The League's present attempt to follow Congress's example and make the Governments of the Muslim majority Provinces as far as possible "pure" League Governments can only widen the gulf still further.

It is now widely recognized in India that one-party government must give way to coalition government, and that, since the expectations of the authors of the Act of 1935 have not been fulfilled, coalition government should be made statutory under the new Constitution.

Parliamentary government has also proved unsuitable to present Indian conditions because, in the absence of a well-established party system, it exposes the Executive to persistent attempts in the Legislature to overthrow it. In Bengal, Sind and Assam there have been constant crises and changes of government. This not only makes government unstable and weakens its prestige, it also exacerbates communal strife.

Might it not be wise, therefore, not only to require Coalition Governments but also to free them from day to-day dependence on a majority vote in the Legislatures?

Both these needs are met by the Swiss Constitution. Till very recently British opinion took<sup>s</sup> the application of the British constitutional system to India more or less for granted. Foreign constitutions were barely mentioned at the Round Table Conference. But Indian publicists have long been interested in foreign constitutions, and particularly in the Swiss Constitution. This Constitution provides that all the major Cantons should be represented in the Federal Executive. Substitute major parties or communities for Cantons, and the requisite coalition Government is obtained. The Swiss Constitution also provides that the Federal Executive, which is elected by the Federal Legislature at the outset of its term, remains in office for the duration of that term. This meets the need for stability.

#### THE CENTRE

Secondly, the Centre. This is a much more difficult problem than the Provinces. Mr Jinnah, indeed, goes so far as to say that there can be *no* Central authority for all India of any kind, federal or confederal. The Muslim homelands must constitute a wholly independent State or States, possibly associated with the rest of India by alliance, but no more. This reaction is due to the Muslim determination not to submit to a Hindu majority, a Hindu Raj, at the Centre, which would have power in Central affairs not only over the Hindu majority Provinces, but also over the Muslim-majority Provinces. Is that decision to disrupt the unity of India inexorable? Is there no way by which the Muslim fear of an all Indian Hindu Raj can be exorcised?

First, if the Muslims are to be won back to any Centre, it must clearly be a Centre—the scope of whose authority is limited to a minimum. India needs a strong Centre—witness, *inter alia*, the danger of famine—but it seems to be a case of a limited Centre or none. The minimal Centre subjects are (1) Foreign Affairs and Defence, (2) Tariffs, (3) Currency, and (4) most desirably, if not quite necessarily, Communications. It seems worth noting that the administration of most of those "subjects" will be subject, to a greater or less degree, to international agreements arising from the need for strategic and economic co-operation in the post war world. To that extent Central policy cannot be determined by purely Indian interests, nor become a Hindu-Muslim battleground.

But a minimal Centre is not enough to appease Muslim sentiment. No Federal Centre of the normal kind will be acceptable to the Muslims in their present mood because all existing Federations, like the Indian Federation projected in the Act of 1935, recognize not only the individuality of the territorial units which constitute it, but also the unity of the nation as a whole, and the Muslims deny the single nationhood of India, and assert that they are a separate nation, entitled to an equal status with other nations, great or small, and, like other nations, to the control of their national homeland. If that claim is admitted—and it is naturally difficult for Hindus to admit it—the traditional conception of the Centre must be abandoned. It cannot be based on the uneven balance of seven dominantly Hindu and four dominantly Muslim Provinces combined in a uni-national Federation. It must adopt at least the principle of Pakistan. In other words, constitutional and administrative shape must be given to the concept of an Indian Muslim nation, and that nation must be associated with the Hindu nation on a footing of equality.

#### THE REGIONS

A *via media* between Partition and normal Federation might be found in Regionalism—*s.e.*, the grouping of Provinces (and States, if possible) in "Regions" or sub-Federations. The reduction of the Central field to a minimum means that there will be some "subjects" which cannot be handled with full efficiency by the Provinces singly or separately. One such subject is large scale economic planning and development—India's greatest need. Another such subject is the maintenance of law and order in the last resort.

Regionalism is not a new, or a British, idea. As applied to India, it was born in the Punjab. In his historic presidential address to the Muslim League in 1930, Sir Muhammad Iqbal proposed "the creation of autonomous States based on unity of

language, race, history, religion and identity of economic interests" In particular, he wanted "a consolidated N.W. Indian Muslim State" Reviving this idea in 1939, Sir Sikander Hyat Khan proposed the grouping of the Provinces and States in seven Regions, one of which comprised the area covered by the projected N.W. Pakistan Regionalism is not the same as Pakistan if Pakistan means complete independence But it provides a kind of Pakistan, and it secures one of the main objectives of Pakistan—viz., the consolidation of the Muslim majority Provinces as federated "national units in control of their national homelands

Under Regionalism the largest part of the field of government would still be occupied by the autonomous Provincial Governments, and the personnel required to man the Regional Governments and small Legislatures would therefore not be great. A number of experienced public men, moreover, would be available if—as will presently be suggested—the size of the existing Central Government and Legislature were greatly reduced

If Regionalism were adopted it would be on the Regions, not the Provinces and States, that the Centre would be based, and the representatives of the Regions at the Centre would not (as in a normal Federation) be representative in any sense or manner of all India, but solely of their Regions They should, in fact, be regarded as the delegates of their Regions, charged with the duty of maintaining at the Centre the policy of their Regional Governments and Legislature It would be what Sir Sikander called an Agency Centre With minimal powers and Agency functions the personnel of such a Centre would be small A single-chamber Legislative Council less than one-quarter the size of the existing Central Assembly would seem to suffice

Might not Muslim nationalism, firmly established in its national Regions, be willing to share in such a Centre? That depends, no doubt, on the demarcation of the Regions and the inter-communal balance of their populations Writing in 1939—before the Muslim reaction had reached its climax in the 'Pakistan Resolution' of 1940—Sir Sikander demarcated his seven Regions without considering the inter-communal position which they would establish at the Centre He seems to have thought at that time that, given Regionalism, Muslims would accept an Agency Centre whatever its communal composition But since 1940 it has become increasingly probable that the Muslims will continue to demand Partition rather than join in any kind of Centre which could be represented as a Hindu Raj

Consideration should be given to a scheme of Regional demarcation worked out by the Census Commissioner of India and based on purely economic factors Economic development, he argues, requires the large scale control of India's water power Regions, therefore, should correspond with River Basins, on the principle of the Tennessee Valley Authority in the U.S.A On this basis he demarcates four Regions—Indus, Ganges, Delta, Deccan Two of these have a Hindu and two a Moslem majority

#### ECONOMIC AREAS

It may be argued that the economic reason for Regionalism is strongest in the Indus basin, and that the needs of economic development can be met elsewhere by inter Provincial co-operation That argument might be disputed, but, if it were conceded, is there any necessity, it might be asked, for the constitutional structure of vast and varied India to be uniform? Dominantly Muslim areas might adopt Regionalism dominantly Hindu areas might prefer to do without it In the latter case, might not those Hindu majority Provinces be willing to adopt Regionalism solely for the purpose of representation at the Centre—*e.g.*, to confer and send a joint delegation to the Centre as if they constituted Regions in the fuller sense?

The same considerations apply to the Indian States If Regionalism were adopted it would clearly be to their economic interest to link themselves with neighbouring Provinces in Regions But, if they preferred to keep apart, might they not act with Provinces on a Regional basis for the purpose of representation at the Centre?

These suggestions are provisional They have not been worked out in administrative detail, because the sooner Indians begin discussion of the future Constitution the better, and, if suggestions are to be of any value, they should be submitted without delay No doubt there are many objections to any such scheme it is the main

object of this lecture to elicit them. But critics must remember that somehow or other the problem of the Centre must be solved. Otherwise the disruption of India is inevitable.

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## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the Association at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Tuesday, October 26, 1943, Professor R. Coupland, c.i.s., lectured on 'Possibilities of an Indian Settlement.' Professor Ernest Barker presided.

The CHAIRMAN said that there was an old connection between Oxford and India. When he was an undergraduate, fifty years ago, some of his best friends were men who later served in India. In Professor Coupland this old connection had been again, and richly, exemplified, for, on behalf of Nuffield College, Oxford, he had been engaged for some years past in a study of the problems of India. His results had been published in three volumes, the first historical, the second contemporary, and the last (just published) dealing with the future. He was to talk that afternoon on the lines of the third part of his study, on the possibilities of an Indian settlement.

Professor COUPLAND then gave his address.

The CHAIRMAN asked if democracy was the supremacy of the will of the majority over the minority, or the supremacy of a *common* will negotiated and agreed between majority and minority after the give and take of discussion? To his mind it was the latter. In 1688 and afterward there had been gradually formed in England an informal agreement that neither party would push its views to an extreme, because that would lead to civil war, but either would seek to press its policy within the terms of a will which was common to both. A true understanding of English history showed that this was our great national achievement. India had similarly to nerve itself for a similar achievement. There was a conscious effort on the part of Whigs and Tories in England in 1688, and there must be a similar conscious effort in India today.

But there could not be any complete parallel between English (and Dominion) development and the development of India. In English development there was a basis of national homogeneity which made it easy for a common will to operate through a two-party system, with either party succeeding the other in office without any cataclysm, and with either party honouring, in the main, the legislation and policy of its predecessor. The facts of India did not supply that national homogeneity. India was a continent, not a country, and although that difficulty might be overcome there were other factors, social and religious, which militated against homogeneity. India was a Hindu-Muslim society, and not an Indian society. A further complication was that history had left Indian States side by side with British India. There could not be applied to India, therefore, the methods drawn from the past experience of Great Britain and the British Dominions.

There were two main methods of government in Great Britain and the British Dominions. The Cabinet method common to both, or, in other words, a method of government based on the more or less amicable succession of parties to office, and (peculiar to the Dominions) the federal method of uniting countries which were in the nature of continents.

What other methods than these could be applied which would suit the peculiar conditions of India? Professor Coupland had endeavoured to answer that question, so far as the Provinces were concerned, by the method of coalition governments based on the model of Switzerland, but were references to the Swiss example likely to be fruitful? Were they fruitful in South Africa about 1908, and might not Indians

feel that the Swiss model was unacceptable? Might not a provincial Government on the model of Ceylon prove a simpler solution? And again, could not the religio-social communities of India, within each Province, be encouraged to function extra politically, with the status of corporate bodies, in the area of religious life, of education, and of social observances and customs? Was it a wild dream that the religio-social communities of India might find some satisfaction extra politically—that is, in the autonomous management of their community concerns of religion, education and social observances?

Turning from the Provinces to the Centre, he put to himself the question, Does the analogy of Australia and Canada hold for India? He did not think so, and he was interested in Professor Coupland's suggestion of intercalating a system of regionalism between the Provinces and the Centre, a method which (Professor Coupland argued) would enable India to get as much of a federal Centre, and as strong a federal Centre, as was humanly possible.

He was attracted by that suggestion, which had some support in the development of Indian opinion within the last dozen years. He had, indeed, a dim feeling that the suggestion of regionalization, like the suggestion of the Swiss model, had not always been fruitful, but in the peculiar circumstances and difficulties of India it might conceivably help to a solution of difficulties otherwise intractable. At any rate, it was their duty to think hard about this ingenious and, maybe, felicitous suggestion.

The Right Hon L S AMERY (Secretary of State for India) said that the thanks of all those who were interested in Indian problems were due to Nuffield College for the enterprise which suggested to them the importance of an impartial study of the Indian political problem by someone not connected either with the Government point of view or with the different Indian parties, and not committed to any preconceived solution. The College should be further thanked and congratulated for their wisdom in choosing Professor Coupland for that task. He had approached it on an immensely wide historical and academic background of knowledge of English and modern history, and more particularly the history of the development of the communities of the British Empire. More than that, he had come to the task with the practical experience of one who had assisted in the investigation of a smaller, but intrinsically similar, problem, that of Palestine.

What mattered in this question was not so much their thanks but the thanks of India, it was for India to make up her mind as to how far these suggestions met her needs, because this country through its Government and Parliament had come to the conclusion that it was no longer for us to prescribe India's future Constitution, but to treat India as the Dominions were treated in the past and leave her to decide for herself that most important part of her destiny—namely, the Constitution under which that destiny was to be carried forward in future years.

It was for India to study and investigate Professor Coupland's immensely fruitful suggestions, and for that reason it was not for him as Secretary of State to express an opinion. He had, however, time and again expressed the view that our particular type of constitution in which the Executive was dependent from day to day upon the support of a majority in the Legislature which, in its turn, might be entirely dependent upon a small party executive, was not suited to Indian conditions. He ventured to suggest that the whole Indian deadlock was largely due to the assumption on the part of leaders of all parties in India that the solution which, by trial and error, this country had achieved was the only one. Possible alternative solutions would not occur to people so long as they were determined that there was only the one solution.

Apropos of Professor Ernest Barker's very wise conclusion that in the working of a constitution everything depended upon the fundamental outlook of those who meant it to work, he would remind him that the glorious Whig Revolution of 1688 to which he had referred as the foundation of the spirit of parliamentary compromise had been preceded by the national compromise of the no less glorious Tory Restoration of 1660. That Restoration was inaugurated by a letter from King Charles (probably from the master hand of the Earl of Clarendon), which appealed to the nation and made it a justification of King Charles's return that the nation should return to its "ancient good temper"—that was the Tory solution.

Lord HAILEY, on behalf of his colleagues in Nuffield College, expressed appreciation of what had been said with regard to the enterprise which inspired the College's commission to Professor Coupland to undertake this objective and exploratory study of the problems of India. His first two volumes had filled a gap in our knowledge of recent Indian history, they would become a classic on the progress made in provincial government, and as a source of information as to the reason why India now had the appearance of being set in two opposite camps. We were accustomed in the past to occasional troubles due to communal dissensions, but India was not divided in the sense that she is today, nor was the Muslim community welded into the solidarity which Professor Coupland had described. Lord Hailey accepted Professor Coupland's analysis of the causes for that situation, but he doubted whether he had paid quite sufficient regard to one factor—namely, the effect of the conviction which seemed at last to have sunk into the minds of thinking India that we had determined that India should take on the responsibilities which we ourselves had hitherto discharged. In view of that conviction, it was only natural for the two great opposing communities to raise their terms, and to make sure that when it came to sitting round a table to discuss a settlement, their claims should be the maximum they could present.

Professor Coupland, in his third volume, had provided invaluable material on which India could base her own consideration on this grave issue. He did not set out to put forward cut and dried solutions, nor was he tied down to any one scheme. At the same time, speaking from his own reading of the third volume, Lord Hailey saw some difficulty in certain suggestions to which Professor Coupland had given some measure of support. He was not sure of the possibilities of a fixed executive in the Provinces, but his real difficulty lay in the three-decker constitution which was suggested as a possible substitute for federation. He understood the functions of the lower deck, which would carry on all the internal working of the ship, and he understood also the functions of the top deck, but he found it very difficult to appreciate what the functions of the middle deck were to be. It seemed likely that it would always be seeking authority which others would not give, and attempting to undertake tasks which the others would not be willing to delegate to it.

Professor Coupland had foreseen that the composition of the "regions" suggested by him was likely to be criticized. Lord Hailey would merely say that there was to his mind something artificial about that composition. He appreciated that there was a certain natural, almost dynamic, ground for the formation of a regional union consisting of the Muslim Provinces in the north, for they did centre round the river system to a certain extent. But it was difficult to find a similar reality for the other divisions. What, for instance, was the real economic or other interest which would unite Bombay, Hyderabad and Madras? He felt some doubt as to the success of any form of constitution which had not a functional basis. Professor Coupland had perhaps, in this respect, gone somewhat far in attempting to give constitutional recognition to what might be called the mathematics of communalism.

With regard to the Centre, all would agree that as a political and legislative factor the Centre had hitherto occupied too large a place in the Indian Constitution. Much of our trouble was due to that fact. But a "weak" Centre in the executive sense would be, as Professor Coupland had himself pointed out, a grave misfortune for India. They must attempt to draw some distinction between the scope of work of the Centre and the extent of authority it could exercise within that scope. Recent events had fully justified Professor Coupland's warning of the necessity for finding a Centre which, somehow or other, and from some source or another could, in an emergency, exercise the supreme executive authority, and would have the initiative and self-reliance to do so.

Though the Centre might in form be confined to certain restricted functions, this would actually involve a much greater exercise of authority than might at first seem to be the case. It could not, for instance, be responsible for defence, unless it had control to a certain extent over the economics and industry of the country. If he felt obliged to state these difficulties, Lord Hailey did so because he felt that there was still a wide field for exploration and for discussion. Nor must his statement of them be taken as diminishing his appreciation of the contribution which Professor Coupland had made to the study of the Indian problem and of the alternatives open to

those who had to frame India's future constitution That was of great service to us, it should prove of even greater service to India For if this trouble was ours it was even more India's trouble Great as might be our own ambitions for India, high as might be the sense of the responsibility which our long connection has given us for her future, nevertheless it was India's welfare which was at stake, and she must in the end be mistress of her own destiny

Mr GODFREY NICHOLSON, M.P., felt that Professor Coupland had not only provided material for Indians upon which to make up their minds, but he had provided this country with valuable material, because, in the long run, the greatest service which could be rendered to India lay in the creation of a proper public opinion in this country Sooner or later there would be an end to the war in the East, sooner or later there would be a Constituent Assembly in India, and it was open to question whether that Assembly would arrive at any conclusions at all, or, if it did, whether they would be accepted by the country Therefore sooner or later there would have to be a policy in this country, we should have to say that, failing an agreement in India, this policy would have to be pursued until the necessary agreement was forthcoming Discussions in India had so far been conducted in a self-centred and isolated atmosphere, far from reality, but reality had stepped in, and would step in still further if the elementary rules were forgotten Bengal was the scene not only of a great human tragedy, but of a first-class breakdown in administration, and if we failed to apply some plan for the continued administration of India there would be further break downs

In the long run responsibility rested on the British Government, for that reason, therefore, Mr Nicholson hoped that Professor Coupland's work would be a stone thrown into the pond of British public opinion which would set up waves to travel far and strong His work would be wasted if those in the country did not take steps to see how public opinion could be educated Possibly study circles could be set up by bodies interested, such as the East India Association Either India was our responsibility or it was not, the answer was that it was our responsibility, we could not escape it by saying to India, 'You must work out your own constitution' Deep thought must be given to the problem of India, and whether the fundamental conditions in which democratic self government could exist did so exist India was the most serious and important single political problem which had to be dealt with at the present time

Sir ALFRED WATSON said that he was not persuaded of the advantages of regionalization, since it was not only against Indian human nature but against all human nature It would give to a minority, representing only one-sixth of the population, an equal vote with the other five sixths, and enable an actual minority to determine policy Such a reversal of democratic practice would be unacceptable anywhere An essential condition of the regional plan was the weakness of the Centre There had been enough of that weakness in India, the powers of the Centre were reduced under the 1935 Act to such an extent that it was unable to take command of such a situation as had arisen in India of late, and could not have acted at all had not additional powers been conferred upon the Centre by legislation at the beginning of the war A weak Centre in India would be a menace to the whole world, it would deal with matters of essential importance to the life of India, and if the Provinces failed at any time to carry out their responsibilities the Centre would be without the machinery or executive power to enforce its will upon the Provinces

Speakers that afternoon had fallen into the too common error of saying that responsibility for the future was wholly Indian The British could not divest themselves of responsibility The present uneasy balance of parties in India created conditions in which India in the future might become the centre of another world war Our responsibility was the greater, inasmuch as we had imposed upon India a form of constitution which was utterly out of touch with democratic principles When we consented, unwillingly, to communal representation we clamped upon India a form of government in which there could not be an alternation of parties in power such as there was in this country Practically the composition of the Legislatures was settled

before a vote was cast by the electorate. The system of communal representation was not confined to the Muslims and Hindus, it extended to the scheduled castes and to the minorities. This system had to be got rid of if progress was to be made. There we could say that the responsibility for change rested upon India and not on ourselves, but until India accepted this democratic notion of parties not divided by religions or race but by function, we must continue to have a very large responsibility.

The hope of such a change in India was in a new generation of Indian politicians, of which there were few signs as yet. One could not help feeling that there must be men in India who were anxious and determined that India should fit herself into the pattern of the new world. She would not do so unless thinkers here and elsewhere endeavoured to help India to find some solution of the problem of representation other than that based on communal antagonism.

Sir ROBERT REID said that the future of the backward tribes or the excluded areas as they were classed in the present Constitution Act was a comparatively small item in the future constitution of India, but it was a matter of enormous importance to the peoples of those areas who, in Assam, numbered at least 1,500,000. Although Professor Coupland had not mentioned them in his lecture he devoted a sub-section of his report to the subject, and the speaker agreed with the conclusion to which he came to the effect that those areas should be excluded from the future constitution of India.

Professor Coupland gave two unanswerable reasons for this. One was political, to the effect that these tribes were not Indian at all, they had no affinity nor connection with India either in religion, culture or appearance. It was only a historical accident that they had been attached in the past and were still attached to an Indian Province. They were politically backward, and it would be grossly unjust to attach them, unprotected, to the constitutional India of the future. The second very strong reason was the question of defence. The bulk of these tribes lived on the north-east frontier, whose importance now and in the future would not be diminished, and he hoped that in the discussions which would ensue with regard to the constitution of India the fate of these primitive, very loyal peoples, would not be forgotten.

Professor COUPLAND, in reply, expressed his appreciation of the generous tributes paid to his work. While it was true that he had travelled about the Empire and studied its practical problems, he was not claiming to solve the Indian problem, he was only putting out some ideas for discussion. He thought the constitution makers would have to readjust the political units if they were to solve the problem of the Centre, and, although he agreed with what Sir Alfred Watson had said "about the need for a strong Centre, he thought it would have to be a "work" Centre, in the sense that the scope of its powers would be minimal or none. The Muslim League might be putting up its price for the conference table, but Pakistan had bitten deep, and he felt it was useless now to think of a federal system on the lines of 1935. The sentiment behind Pakistan must be satisfied or India would be disrupted.

Sir FREDERICK SYKES, who in the latter part of the meeting took the chair for Dr Ernest Barker, said that he had seldom listened to a more stimulating lecture, or to an abler discussion than the one which followed it. He hoped that Professor Coupland's wise words would reach a far wider audience than in Caxton Hall. This was, he thought, the first constructive attempt to find an answer to the Indian question which would commend itself to all parties without disrupting the country. Professor Coupland's plan was based on what he called Regionalism—the realignment of the country into four Regions or federating groups, two Muslim and two Hindu, in order to assure equality at the Centre, the absence of which had been the great stumbling block in the past. It was not quite easy to follow the details without a map, and one could pick holes in the scheme, as indeed one could with any proposal. For instance, he would like to ask the lecturer whether the populations in the Regions would be approximately equal, and how the States fitted into the picture? And what would happen to important minority communities like the Sikhs? The most disturbing factor was the admission that the Centre would be weakened. He (Sir Frederick

Sykes) had constantly pleaded for a strong Centre, and his words were borne out by the disastrous famine in Bengal. But Professor Coupland was not trying to make a constitution—that was a task for Indians themselves. All he set out to do was to state some of the factors, and explore the ways in which they might be dealt with.

Sir Frederick Sykes asked for a vote of thanks to the lecturer and Dr Ernest Barker, which was passed with applause.

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## LITERARY INTERPRETERS OF INDIA A SELECTIVE STUDY

BY DR RANJEE G SHAHANI

To a philosophic spectator of the earthly scene, I remarked last year before the India Society, nothing can be so puzzling, even amusing, as the torrent of books about India. Very many of these, whatever their authors and publishers may say, are not masterpieces. In fact, there is very little of real value—only a large quantity of useful and useless darkness.

That opinion, though it was unwise of me to have expressed it publicly, I still hold. Both E. M. Forster and Edward Thompson asked me to name those works on India that did give me some satisfaction. You can imagine my embarrassment. Then Sir Frank Brown very kindly invited me to answer more or less the same question, which I had not thought of answering yet. I succumbed. We all succumb to Sir Frank. He must have mesmeric powers.

As I have indicated, good books about India are rare. I cannot discuss the reason here. I merely throw out one or two ideas. Few, it seems, are blessed with the gift known as the *résonance spirituelle*—the capacity to enter into the inwardness of aliens. The Russians, however, give us pause. Think of Pushkin, Turgenev, and Tolstoy. They have shown, each in his own way, a marvellous insight into the heart and mind of foreigners. The British display a similar mastery in their pictures of the Arab world. Doughty, Colonel Lawrence, St. John Philby and some others are not only subtle artists, but subtle interpreters. They have added to our knowledge of man. One cannot honestly say the same of British writers about India. The land of the Vedas seems to repel them and to sardonize their humour. Why? Let Galsworthy explain. He said to me in 1928 (the first time I met him): "Mr. John Bull has a pretty good conceit of himself. He believes that nothing outside our great Constitution and our country is worth noticing or studying. Though this is his general attitude, I don't think he despises India. On the contrary, he is terrified by it. It is too vast and varied for his monocular vision. He tries to hide his fear in a hundred ways, but it leaks out in all he says and does. In fine, Mr. Bull suffers in India from acute self-consciousness—that mange of the soul." All this goes pretty deep, and applies not only to the British but to Westerners in general. Fortunately, there are exceptions, and it is of some of these that I am going to speak. I include only my own pets, except elephants and insects.

### RUSSIA

Most anthropologists have noted a fundamental kinship between Indians and Russians, the two peoples react with the pulse of life in almost the same way. In the case of certain artists, however, we go beyond this similarity of outlook due to racial affinity; it is rather a penetration of Indian speculation in their meditations. Take, for instance, Turgenev. His vision was essentially Buddhist. Read his novels, or his magnificent short stories and *Prose Poems*. All these speak, in muted whispers, of the impermanence of things, of the fragility of attachments, of the unity of all life. Pain and sorrow, Turgenev murmurs sadly, are bound up with the very fact of sentient existence. Let us be compassionate. It is he who said "Everything passes, only good deeds remain." Here we have a worthy follower of the noble

eightfold path. But can Turgenev be called an interpreter of India? In a very vital sense, yes. He assimilated the spirit of Buddhism (Burnouf, the French scholar, was his source) and passed it on to us as a pervasive fragrance in his writings. This is far more important than the work of bookful blockheads ignorantly read who stock their brains—and try to fill ours—with loads of learned lumber.

To come to Tolstoy. A moral crisis occurred in his life at the age of forty-eight. Sick of the West, he turned for light to the East, and came to rest on the higher grounds of Indianism. His very Christianity, after this date, is Buddhistic, a Christianity permeated by Hinduism. The words of Jesus appear to him far more true and far more lovely when he finds them in the Vedas and the Upanishads. We see him corresponding with notable Indians, including Gandhi. His communication to W. A. Posse on *The Study of Ancient Religions* evidences, among other things, an intimate acquaintance with the Krishna doctrine. Consider, again, his famed *Letter to an Indian*: it is sprayed with jewels of thought appropriated from the metaphysical masterpieces of India. Our countrymen who visited him at Yasnaya Polyana in 1901 have testified to his profound understanding and appreciation of many aspects of our experiment with life. *La Pensée de l'Humanité*, the well known book, shows an imaginative grasp of our way of contemplating the cosmos. Finally, *What is Art*, which the dandified critics—Europe and America—have dismissed as the ejection of an enfeebled mind, contains an Hinduized view of art. It may not appeal to everyone, but it cannot be ignored. Indeed, Tolstoy was the closest interpreter in his day of India to the West. He harnessed the tides of Oriental dream, and used them as a new and formidable source of power. The effects are being felt today. The West, thanks to Turgenev, Tolstoy and others before and after, has been slowly but surely Indianized.

#### GERMANY

Germans, contrary to the general belief, have perpetrated more nonsense about us than one cares to remember. I do not except even Schopenhauer and Nietzsche from this charge. As for the lesser lights—the swarm of critics and commentators—their work is in large part ruined by their tiresome habit of system making and system hunting. With Teuton delicacy, they try to pin a butterfly before catching it. The two thinkers who are more or less free from this weakness are Rudolf Steiner and Count Keyserling—neither of them exactly a Prussian. What I have read of the first I have admired, but I have not read enough of his work to be qualified to form a judgment. So I leave him out.

Keyserling's *The Travel Diary of a Philosopher* which gives much place to India, is on the whole excellent. Its value lies not so much in its conclusions and solutions as in its luminous suggestions. Keyserling knows, for instance, that we Indians, though pretty good at dialectics, are not worshippers of Reason—that Kali of the West. We are sure that logic is ultimately a frivolity. Life, in our view, cannot be fitted into any intellectual mould. It will only yield up its secret, if at all, in wise passivity. Our finest meditations, then, have the lovely naturalness of dreams—such spontaneity as is to be found in the sayings of Jesus. Keyserling is aware of all this. He is also aware that perfection, not progress, is our ideal. But he goes hopelessly astray when he thinks that action is the prerogative of the West. How fabulously naïve! The Buddha sought peace in the happiness of others, and Asoka, that royal saint, tried to make life bearable for all, including animals. Gandhi has spent the major part of his career in the service of others. Our best representatives are not the quietists, but the ‘gladiators of God’—an expression of Victor Hugo. Sad that Keyserling has not noted the Vedic impulse in us. But his study is valuable all the same. Again and again it makes one sit up and think. That is good for us all. And when he momentarily forgets himself and his penchant for bold bounces, he can be illuminating.

#### FRANCE

Here I will first refer to an Alsatian, Dr. Albert Schweitzer. He has written a book called *Indian Thought and its Development*. This reminds me of what a Japanese said after a conversation with Gladstone ‘He is wonderful! He knows all about everything except—Japan!’ It is hard for me to say that Dr. Schweitzer

has misunderstood Indian thought, because he has praised my own work to a mutual friend, but truth is truth.

The French, as a people, are too clear to be profound. They endeavour to make everything obvious. Now, to my mind, what is obvious can't possibly be true. However, the French have said many fine things about us. How are we to account for this? They happen to be Catholics, and Catholicism, in its deeper aspects, relates to the secret thought not only of India but of the entire Orient. It is not surprising, then, that a number of Frenchmen have had a peep into our soul. I shall touch on two of them here—Romain Rolland and René Guénon.

Romain Rolland is at once a painter of realities and a student of divine knowledge. I cannot say that he is a Hindu or Buddhist at heart. He is a free spirit. He drinks at every stream he comes across, and then passes on. I suppose it was in some such manner that he encountered three wayfarers—Ramakrishna, Vivekananda, and Gandhi. His portraits of these are splendid; they are bathed in so intimate a light that one fears for them the noise of fame. Ramakrishna, we learn, is a world-spirit whose influence will soon become co-extensive with the Commonwealth of thinking men and women. Vivekananda reminds us of Blake's 'Tiger, tiger, burning bright, In the forests of the night.' And Gandhi appears not merely as the conscience of India revolting against the forces that impede the country's march towards nationhood, but also as the soul of the modern world seeking to replace in its love of humanity the reign of those "principalities and powers" which we have ignored so long. These three biographies are, in my opinion, books of power.

The second volume on Vivekananda has an added attraction—it contains a remarkable essay on mysticism. I have read nothing so penetrating on the subject. Men, Romain Rolland proves, always meet on the heights. I had meant to speak of his wonderful letters to me, but I content myself with one short quotation. Writing to me in 1931, he said: "Ou, soyez certain que l'avenir réserve à la société humaine des formes nouvelles, plus belles encore que celles du passé! Et j'espère bien que l'Orient et l'Occident, par leur mariage, y contribueront." That is the wish of us all.

René Guenon is not a conventional Orientalist, so covered with the dust of libraries that he can only sneeze and cough. No, he wears his scholarship, which is immense, lightly and thinks for himself. He tries to tell the truth truthfully, which is not so easy as it sounds. In brief, he is, to my mind, the deepest student of Indianism in the West today. He has not only "restored" the Hindu doctrines, but equated them with Western wisdom. The true contrast is not between the Orient and the Occident as such, he tells us, as between the traditional civilizations of the past and the modern world. Metaphysics unite, science divides. Indeed, no durable entente is possible between East and West unless the latter returns to its primordial spirituality. But I cannot summarize in a few words even a part of René Guenon's ideas. His books must be read—they are at once critical and constructive. On Hinduism they are first rate. Not that our author is beyond reproach. He has a very imperfect idea of Buddhism. One smiles when he calls it an aberration. Also he seems to me to have missed the noblest side of the Western spirit. He does not appear to know that the only way of achieving divineness here and now is by remaining imperfectly human. Further, of the British spirit—always a mystery to outsiders—he shows not a sign. Apart from these limitations, he is a vital and vitalising writer.

#### BRITAIN

Some good judges of literature think that the best British writers on India are the earlier men—Jones, Colebrooke, and others. There is much truth in this. These authors had an intuitive, almost tactile, understanding of Indian thought and sentiment. Take, for instance, a later figure, that of Sir Alfred Lyall. I have found his *Asiatic Studies* highly suggestive, and even his verses, which nobody reads nowadays, are interesting—they seem to anticipate the tone and temper of Kipling. But while Kipling was self bemused, Lyall in his balanced moments showed "stirrings of uncomfortable perception." If time permitted it would be enlightening to compare the two poets. It is sufficient to say that the modern period has not been altogether barren—even in England.

Few seem to have heard of a book called *The Dream of Ravan*, yet it is in many ways the finest thing in the English language on one of our doctrines—the Sankhya. The author, an Irishman, was not a mere scholar, he was a brilliant writer who played with Hindu ideas like a magician. He made the most abstruse thoughts not only easily intelligible but fascinating. I have often admired his mastery of his subject. The work I have mentioned must be read to be appreciated. It is written in the form of a romance, and a delightful romance it is. I hope some of you will turn to it.

English poetry about India, I am sorry to say, is neither very inspired nor inspiring. Those who have read Robert Sencourt's *India in English Literature* must have groaned again and again. The English poets, unlike Wordsworth's skylark, seem to roam but never to soar. Swinburne, however, has given us some magnificent poems—poems which might well have come from the pen of a Hindu bard. As I have dealt with this topic elsewhere, I cannot linger over it. I only refer you to the *Hymn to Proserpine*, *Hertha*, and *Genesis*. These pieces are Vedantic in their vision.

But it is A. E. who has sounded some of the depths of the Hindu spirit. Indeed, he told me that he owed more to India than to any other country. He held the *Mahabharata* to be the greatest poem in the world, and his affection for the *Bhagavad-Gita* was so strong that he made it his bedside book. It was his dream to acquire a Hindu avatar. I mentioned this to Edward Garnett. He smiled, and said 'I always thought that A. E. was a Brahmin who had received an Irish mortal coil for some past misdeed.' I don't know whether it is a punishment to be born in the country of Mr De Valera! However, A. E. had an almost uncanny understanding of Indianism. I confess that I learnt much from him about my own country. With his usual kindness, he pointed out to me those of his poems which had been directly inspired by Indian ideas. I wish I had time to cite some samples. I content myself with saying that no British poet has sung of our racial experience in such thrilling accents as A. E. We consider him as one of us, and this is our V.C., rarely conferred upon a foreigner.

We Indians will always have an affectionate admiration for Laurence Binyon. He was one of our real friends. Even when he failed to appreciate some aspect of our creative effort (for instance, he was not impressed by our architecture!) we made allowances. Taken all in all, he had a deep insight into our spiritual make up. He has written with much felicity about the frescoes of Ajanta and Bagh, and I have noticed a lyrical note creep into his voice when he spoke of our Rajput paintings. He possessed that rare art known as the "art of praise." For proof see his essay on Monmohan Ghosh and his book on Akbar. I cannot say that he had any knowledge of our metaphysics. No, that was not his province. But he had a poet's seeing eye. He once said to me "The cosmic energy that India holds is immeasurable. She will soon startle the world. It is for you young men to help her to recover the innocence of eye of the Vedic age. There is more poetry, mystery and vision in the *Rigveda* and the *Upanishads* than in any other books." From a lover of Dante and Shakespeare this was indeed a compliment.

A word or two about the novelists. I must talk only of works you have not already heard discussed. The stories of F. W. Bain seem to me to catch the very essence of the spirit of ancient India. *The Digit of the Moon* is a real bijou. Leonard Woolf's *The Village in the Jungle*, though it deals with Ceylon, says much that applies to the insulted and injured in India. It is a fine novel, written in a very lively and colourful style, never raw except in the elegant way of the lion. By the ghost of Thomas Hardy the book might be announced "A brave, honest effort to wring our hearts."

I think very highly of Edward Thompson's historical books. *The Rise and Fulfilment of British Power in India*, *Metcalf* and his recent *The Making of the Princes*. They are all racially honest and have no axe to grind. That has not been true for the last eighty years, and in itself is a great deal. But it is of *The Youngest Disciple* that I wish to speak. It reveals in a masterly manner the Buddhistic spirit. Thompson has an almost Tolstoyan indifference to plot, like the Russian master, he is absorbed in individual character. His book is, then, rather a sequence of beautiful scenes, depicting the magic appeal of the Buddha, than a set novel, but it contains

passages of penetrating psychology and vivid description, as well as a certain amount of clarified philosophy. This is a delicate and durable creation, a satisfying whole, and perhaps Thompson's finest literary achievement. It shows that he is essentially a poet who believes that life should be shaped by beauty and goodness. Who dares disagree with him?

#### INDIA

For me, I confess, Rabindranath Tagore is neither a philosopher nor a mystic nor anything else, but simply a grand poet. I do not care for such works of his as *Sadhana Personality* and *The Religion of Man*. They contain laudable sentiments, but nothing more. Nor do I think very much of his political effusions. Tagore had not the fibre of a hero. Often he was tongue tied by authority. But he was hypersensitive as only a Hindu aristocrat can be. Here, too, he was unable to hear the grander harmonies of the Indian spirit, but he caught its melodies all the more successfully. *Gitanjali* and *The Gardener*, though full of tinsel, still reveal in a delightful manner the tender and ethereal side of the folk soul of India. But it is in his love lyrics, which surpass the nightingale in ecstasy, and in his short stories, more delicately tinted than the neck of a ring-dove, that he lays bare, with consummate art, the heart of cultivated India—be it Hindu or Muslim. In brief, he understood the feminine side of our nature better than anyone else. Of the masculine part in us, with its glee and gloom, he had no notion. It is for this reason that some of us love him, but cannot follow him. He seems to us a storm tossed sea bird, crying and flying, with no other voice than a cry.

Iqbal gives us greater satisfaction. We know all about his Islamism. But—and here many mistakes have been made—he was no enemy of the Hindus. On the contrary, he had nothing but respect for them. How can it be otherwise? he told me. I'm sprung from the same stock. India is older than Hinduism and Islam, and will remain when we and our creeds have become one with yesterday's seven thousand years. Is this the language of a fanatic? No, Iqbal felt that Islam in its pure form had a contribution to make towards the building of New India. We agree. What appeals to us in his poetry is his fearless way of regarding life and the world. We love his fight with Fate. He rouses the heroic in us. His martial music is very dear to us. It is something that we had always half wished to hear. That Islam is more than a number of Muslims—rather a state of the soul—was his message to his countrymen. What matters, now and ever, he seems to say, is the spirit, the endeavour, the desire and will to act and achieve. Doing and driving was his ideal, and it is fast becoming the ideal of Young India. *Hindustan Hamara* (My India) is a song which even street arabs sing. Iqbal is more than an interpreter; he is one of our prophets.

Contemporary India has produced few, if any, original thinkers. A notable exception is Aurobindo. Whatever valuation may ultimately be put upon his search into the root of things, it has to be admitted that he is a figure of international importance. It is not my purpose to discuss his doctrines here, but to show what he has done with our spiritual heritage. He is not a philosopher, but a metaphysician. He calls his thought "synthetic"—an ugly word, what he means is prismatic, combining in a new unity the colours of East and West. Here he is a pioneer, going from national and racial views to wisdom pure and simple. He sees, for instance, no gulf between matter and spirit though all but inconceivable, he says, they are one and indivisible. Aurobindo, in fact, has no patience with conventional Vedantism; he names it "The refusal of the ascetic," and maintains that it is "more complete, more final, more perilous in its effects on individuals and collectivities" than a downright rejection of the spiritual world by the materialist. He asserts—in tune with the Vedas—that the visible scheme is not to be despised. It is as divine as anything else. He suggests a harmonious life, flowering into truth, beauty, goodness and holiness, here and now. This is the core of his teaching, and it is a teaching which, added to the trumpet blasts of Vivekananda, Iqbal and others, has created a change in the Indian mentality. This is a veritable revolution. Modern Indians now believe that life begets life. This view is fraught with tremendous consequences, not only for India, but for the whole world.

I have had to leave out the missionaries, the political writers, and most of the novelists, but I cannot altogether ignore Gandhi and Nehru. The first knows peasant India as not even the Buddha knew it, the second has an understanding of the younger generation that is without parallel anywhere. Unfortunately, both, as also many other Indian leaders, have no true idea of the direction in which Britain is moving and has long been moving. Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar was quite right when he said at the last annual meeting of this Association that there has been a great change, in the inter-war period, in the British attitude towards India. It is a thousand pities that so few Indians seem to know this. Something should be done to enlighten them all.

It is not for me to say what this should be. I only know that to make the peoples of Great Britain and India understand, esteem, and mutually benefit by the psychology and experience of one another is a problem requiring the assiduous and loving work of many men of goodwill. It should be tackled in a serious and honest spirit. In his wise speech at York on the Empire, Mr Amery has shown us the way. We must follow it—both by words and deeds. I may be wrong, but I think an *entente amicale et fraternelle* between our two countries will not only enrich us both, but will make for the greater glory of man. However, this is politics, and I must not pursue the theme in a literary talk.

### DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A meeting of the Association was held on Tuesday, November 9, 1943, at the Caxton Hall, Caxton Street, S W 1, when Dr Ranjee G Shahani read the foregoing paper. Mr D L Murray (Editor of *The Times Literary Supplement*) presided.

The CHAIRMAN, in introducing Dr Shahani, said that it was with a feeling of pride that he introduced not only a critic and writer of high distinction, but a personal friend. At the present time Dr Shahani was fulfilling a particularly valuable rôle because he was an Indian who, though not abating one jot of his patriotism and without hesitating to point out the obtuseness and slowness of the Englishman, yet retained a sympathetic understanding of Western institutions, and was always a true—because a candid—friend of England. He was not one of those who thought his country could best be served by stirring up distrust between the two nations, but by trying to promote mutual understanding and sympathy. Dr Shahani had studied for many years at the University of Paris, and it might be that wide cosmopolitan and cultural background he had acquired which gave him a fairness of judgment which made them always glad to listen to him.

Dr SHAHANI then read his paper.

The CHAIRMAN said that Dr Shahani was a scholar who, less than any other, was, in his own phrase, "covered with the dust of libraries". They had been listening to the thoughts of a mind which was always fresh, always original, and always individual. Although he was there that afternoon to learn rather than to offer opinions of his own, he wished to say a word or two on one aspect of the paper which had particularly interested him from the point of view of his own studies.

It was rather discouraging to Englishmen to find Dr Shahani declaring that both the Russian and the Irish peoples were by nature better qualified to appreciate the spirit of India than the English. It was a depressing fact, but he did not think it could be denied. Nor was the reason far to seek, though it could be little more than the expression of a platitude. He could sympathize with what Dr Shahani

had said about the injustice of thinking of the Indians as a race of dreamers and quietists without practical energy, an absurd idea in view of the practical work of great political leaders like Mr Gandhi, and in view of the triumphs of Indian architecture and the long history of the warrior spirit in India. On this point he would like to say that Kipling, in whatsoever other respects he may have failed to understand the Indian spirit, at least understood and appreciated the spirit of gallantry of the Indian soldier, and he thought every Englishman did so too. Yet, while admitting all that, he did not think it could be denied that the prevailing genius of India had been of the contemplative and mystical order. This was necessarily so in a country where the faith of Buddhism was so widespread. It was a type of thought which had realized "the impermanence of things, the fragility of attachments," and it was based on a belief that the visible scheme was of very small importance compared with the eternal underlying Spirit.

Between a nation which expressed its genius in this way, and the more narrowly practical spirit of Britain, it would be necessary to build bridges, but he did not think that the friendship between the two nations was necessarily weakened by the fact that they had to make an effort to understand each other, because that necessity implied that each had something of value to give to the other. When he asked him self over what rivers these bridges should be thrown, the answer which occurred to him was philosophy and metaphysics. He knew that those subjects could only appeal to a small number of minds, but the general thought of philosophers did in time permeate the mass of the people. There was an affinity between the classic Indian philosophy and the European tradition of Idealism beginning from Plato, and it had often been held that Plato himself had access to Indian teachers and Indian teaching in framing his own thought. He believed, therefore, that they could look to philosophy as a common ground where the thought of the two countries might meet. The philosophy of Idealism, though it started in Greece and had its next powerful influence in Germany, had always been very much akin to the spirit of Britain and had found expression in the great British Idealistic philosophers such as Bradley, Bosanquet, Green, and others.

He knew that Dr Shahani's acquaintance with and understanding of the works of Tagore was very much greater than his, but he felt that Dr Shahani had been possibly a little unjust to Tagore's philosophical work *The Religion of Man*. It might not contain any very original thought, but it was a beautiful and satisfying restatement and deepening of ideas which had been expressed before and which the poet philosopher made his own. It was very difficult to find real originality in philosophical thought. Considering the thought of the West, he wondered if it would be possible to find more than five names that showed a real fresh beginning, and a really new vision in metaphysical thought. When they had mentioned Plato, Bishop Berkeley, Kant, Hegel, and Bergson he wondered if they had not come to the end, so far, of the original visions of life that the West had produced.

Speaking with diffidence, he believed that Aurobindo might well prove to stand in the line of those truly creative philosophers who had given a new thought and a new vision to mankind. He hoped that more study would confirm Aurobindo's doctrine of the unity of Life, of both the material and the spiritual, as expressions of one great living Reality ever passing on to fresh triumphs and existing for the sake of the joy of creation and self-expression—the universe, in fact, being at once the Artist and the work of art—and that it would prove to be a new vision given to humanity by a truly original philosopher. Even if the verdict of history showed that he was going too far in mentioning Aurobindo's name in conjunction with those great philosophers he had just alluded to, the mere fact that Aurobindo made one think of them by his power and vigour and freshness was no mean tribute to his genius, which it would take years to appreciate fully.

He hoped that something would be done in the region of philosophy to promote further understanding between the Indian and the English mind, and in this way to realize the hope which Dr Shahani had expressed in very beautiful words at the end of his paper. Like him, he would not dream of introducing politics on this occasion, but it was surely permissible to look forward through the present troubles to the day when both India and Britain would realize the value of a partnership.

which he truly believed could bring many good things to both of them if it was persisted in and not rashly thrown away

Mr CLIFFORD BAX said, to an Englishman like himself, who had been deeply affected by Indian philosophy since boyhood, it was irritating to find how the simplest notions of Indian philosophy were misunderstood by so-called intellectuals. One of the best-known poets now living had written a little poem called *Karma*, by which he meant reincarnation, and one of the best known literary critics a few years ago used the word *karma* in the same sense. It could only have been 'swank' which made them use a Sanskrit word of which they did not understand the meaning.

W B Yeats was much influenced by Indian philosophy, but the book which had been written about his life dismissed his philosophical views as so much extraneous rubbish, the price which 'intellectuals' had to pay if they were to enjoy the poetry of Yeats. The effect of Indian thought on the British mind was surprisingly small. He believed, however, that it would ultimately have a great effect. It was only about sixty years since English art was suddenly affected by the beauty of Japanese and Chinese paintings, and in another fifty years they might realize that the Indian philosophy was a serious matter. The trouble with reviewers was that they had academic minds which regarded Indian thought as an interesting subject for study but not for experiment. If they would try a little meditation in the Indian sense they would realize that ten minutes' meditation was more exhausting than an hour's writing.

Dr Shahani referred to a book called *The Dream of Ravan*, which appeared originally in a Dublin University magazine in 1853-4. The author was a mystery man, whose knowledge of Indian thought was astonishing. In an interesting part near the end of the book the author gave a translation from a rare Indian book describing the state of illumination which Indians knew came on attaining a considerably high state of consciousness. The book was very difficult to obtain, and as Dr Shahani had referred to it he would like to read a few lines, and if they heard them with imagination and religious intuition, not taking them literally as scholars they would realize that the man who took the trouble to translate them knew a great deal about the reality behind this experience.

"As when, owing to the crammed state of its interior, the pearls can no longer be held in by the double shell, then the seam of the pearl oyster rim bursts open

So, uncontainable within the clasp of the eyelids, the sight, expanding, seeks to go outward, it is the same indeed as before, but is now capable of embracing the heavens

The body becomes golden and lustrous, but it has the lightness of the wind  
for of water and of earth no portion is left

Then he (the initiate) beholds the things beyond the sea, he hears the language of paradise, he perceives what is passing in the mind of the ant . . ."

Mr HILTON BROWN, referring to Dr Shahani's remarks about John Bull's attitude to India, said that a little while ago the British Broadcasting Corporation, through its organization called "Listener Research," collected the views of listeners about India. The sort of reply they received was "I am very interested in India, but the whole thing is so difficult and complicated and presents a problem of such magnitude, that I do not know where to begin." That reaction might be due to fear, as Galsworthy had said, but it might simply be due to mental laziness.

He was interested in Dr Shahani's analogy between Russians and Indians because he had often thought there was a comparison, especially with regard to humour. The Russian writer Zoshchenko's sketches were almost identical with the humorous sketches of his Madras friend, S V Vijayaraghavachariar.

He was surprised that Dr Shahani had set so high a value upon the stories of F W Bain, and, at the same time, that he had omitted *Passage to India*, by E M Forster, which he admired as an exceptionally profound interpretation of Indian character.

The attitude of the mass of people towards India was that they did not know, and did not care. He was glad to hear that their friend Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar thought there had been a change in the inter-war period. This was, he thought, only partially true. The majority remained indifferent, but there had been some change among the intelligentsia. At one time these considered it the right and correct thing to regard our rule in India as something rather shameful and disgraceful, but he thought that was not now being accepted as an axiom to the extent that it was. The fact that this axiom was being questioned was at least a hopeful sign.

Mr Sir JOHN PHILBY thought the proposition before the meeting was that the best of the writings of the West, and particularly the English, about India were very disappointing, whereas with happier countries like Arabia it was a different story. He did not accept the full implications of that statement, but he thought there were two reasons for it, if true. The first was that Arabia and the Arabs were a much easier proposition for the Westerner, and particularly the Englishman, to understand. The second was that Arabia was the scene of the manifestation of a form of philosophy which had appealed to the whole of the West, the monotheistic idea had established itself there absolutely securely in its three different forms, and had even gone so far as invading the fringe of India. Arabia had solved the problem with which India had been preoccupying itself for thousands of years without finding a solution. Nobody who was a member of any of those three monotheistic religions would challenge that statement.

Again, there were many Western students of Indian philosophy, and many Indian students of Western philosophy, able to speak the same language and to understand each other perfectly, but they had no influence on events or the general organization of the country whatsoever. When Mr Amery wanted to settle an important question connected with India he did not approach the philosophers for advice. But when it had been necessary to solve the problems of Arabia, Mr Lloyd George had sent for Lawrence, and Mr Lloyd George and his successors had followed Lawrence's advice. Lawrence was the greatest expert on Arabia, but his advice was wrong. Every Englishman except himself would probably disbelieve that statement, but he challenged them to find an Arab who would contradict it.

When people had made a life study of Arabia and wrote about it they were free to say what they liked, but when they wrote about India they were to a large extent inhibited by a feeling that they must not say anything that would make the situation more difficult.

Dr SHAHANI, in reply to a question as to whether Indian architecture derived from Grecian architecture, said that this was so to some extent.

He agreed with Mr Hilton Brown that the Indian sense of humour approached the Russian, but it also had some affinity with the English. He remembered a great scholar in France saying that he could make nothing of Shakespeare's comedies, 'They were as dull as ditchwater,' but the Indian did not find them dull.

Lady HARTOG, in moving a vote of thanks to the Chairman and the Lecturer, said that between the philosophic attitude of the Chairman and the Lecturer, and the speeches which had been contributed in the discussion, they had plenty to think about. She felt they had spent an afternoon out on the hills, with politics stirring beneath them in the valleys, and a fresh wind blowing from all four corners of the earth.

Dr Shahani writes: If I said that Indian architecture derived from the Grecian I must have been dreaming. I was quite wrong. The Dravidians and the people of the Indus Valley civilization, not to speak of the Aryans, knew the builder's art long before anybody had heard of the Greeks. But Indian sculpture of the Gandharan School—the poorest part of our creative effort—was certainly influenced by Greek models.

Mr Hilton Brown asked why I had left out E. M. Forster. For the simple reason that it was suggested to me by the Council of the East India Association to omit

those writers who had been dealt with on a previous occasion I made an exception in the case of Thompson because some of his most enduring work had been neglected Had Forster written anything on India that was not sufficiently appreciated, I should have been only too glad to speak of it. I have the greatest admiration for him, and I take this opportunity of saying so

I wish someone had questioned me about the more recent writers on India Then I should have been able to talk of Clifford Bax (his *Traveller's Tale* is a beautiful poem), Aldous Huxley, Gerald Heard, and Hilton Brown himself, for he has written some interesting things about India

## ASSAM AND THE WAR

BY SIR ROBERT N REID, KCSI, KCIE

I SHOULD just like to explain at the outset that though I am competent to talk about Assam and the war up to a point, my time as Governor of Assam came to an end in May, 1942, so that I took no personal part in events after that I was, however, in Calcutta from then on, and I knew and heard a good deal about what was going on

As in other countries, the opening twelve months of the war entailed little change in the daily life of Assam A Congress Government was in power on September 3, 1939, but they very soon received their orders from the Congress High Command to resign, and were replaced by a Ministry headed by Sir Muhammad Saadulla, the present Prime Minister He was a wholehearted supporter of the war, and it was his Cabinet which decided to contribute a lakh of rupees from the public revenues for war purposes, a proceeding which drew down on them the severest condemnation from their Congress critics It was at his suggestion, too, that we pressed on G H Q and eventually got them to agree to the raising of an Assam Regiment The 1st Battalion came into being on June 30, 1941 It is composed entirely of natives of Assam, Cacharis, Kukis, Lushais, Nagas and others, and their languages were so diverse that Major Howman, their first commandant, decided to use English as their lingua franca

Sir Muhammad's Ministry lasted until December, 1941, when, owing to the treachery of one of his colleagues, its downfall was encompassed I had then to attempt to find another Ministry I sent first for Mr Bardoloi, the leader of the Congress Party, the largest group in the Assembly He, of course, had his orders not to accept office, and the interview was therefore short, but it was long enough to show how deplorably blind to the meaning of the war and their own duty as citizens the Congress Party were And that was at a time when public speakers, themselves among them, were declaiming glibly, and quite correctly, about the Japanese knocking at the gates of India, and the war being brought to the doors of Assam

### THE REMAKING OF A MINISTRY

I then sent for Mr Chaudhury, the member of the late Cabinet who was responsible for its downfall, as he had made it plain that he considered he could form a Cabinet. He explained that, while those whom he could call his own supporters were few, he intended to rely on Congress support for the ordinary administration of the province, while as regards war measures he assured me he could certainly rely on the support of the Opposition

This was obviously a proposition I could not accept, even if everything had turned out in accordance with Mr Chaudhury's anticipations, and I was indeed quite certain that the Opposition would not play in the way he hoped, but would lose no opportunity offered to turn him out. So the only resort was Sect. 93 of the Act and that position persisted for the remaining months of my term of office, until, four months later, and after an interval of exactly eight months, Saadulla again took office, which he still retains

The remoteness of the war made it difficult to get people interested in war work. War work at first was, in fact, confined to the activities of work parties doing Red Cross work and making comforts for troops, to the collection of funds for war purposes, and to recruiting men for such services, not very extensive, as were open to them. The amount subscribed to the Assam War Fund was one of which such a small province might well be proud. The tea and oil industries made big contributions proportionate to their resources, while there were numerous instances, especially among people in humble circumstances, which showed a remarkable spirit of loyalty and self sacrifice. The simple hill folk, of whose loyalty we never had any doubt, in particular contributed in a wonderful way. Money is very scarce in those hills, or perhaps I should say *was* very scarce—the war has changed all that, I expect, at any rate for the Nagas and the Lushais—but that did not deter them from giving freely of their means.

The work parties organization, of which my wife was the head, was widespread and did excellent work from the start, work which has been maintained with great vigour ever since. There were a large number of workers in Shillong at headquarters, and in all the tea planting districts, as well as in the remote hill districts, they freely responded to the call for help.

#### THE EXODUS FROM BURMA

December, 1941, followed as it was by a succession of disasters, brought about a big change. Through Assam was to pass the great exodus of Indians fleeing from Burma, into it was to enter the Burma Army at the end of its long retreat, into it from the other end was to enter the vanguard of the Army which was to defend India and eventually retake Burma. And there was the possibility of Assam itself being bombed, if not invaded.

The first trickle of refugees began to enter Assam early in 1942 by the Manipur Road. Information was always deficient, and, in fact, I don't think we ever had any reasonable estimate of the numbers likely to arrive, but as time went on it became more and more clear that they were going to be very big. There were previously in Burma about one million Indians, and I suppose about half of them came out between December, 1941, and July, 1942. A large number went west across the hills and creeks from Southern Burma to Prome and so to Chittagong in Bengal. They suffered great hardships and many died. A great number went northwards ahead of our retreating forces, and it was the bulk of these that found their way out by the Manipur Road. I should explain that before December, 1941, this was the only road leading towards Burma, and even it did not reach the border. Taking off at railhead at Dibrugarh in the Naga Hills district, it ran for 134 miles to Imphal, the capital of Manipur, and there it stopped. There was about 30 miles of unmetalled road beyond, and then a 6-foot bridle path up to the border at Tammu.

The completion of a highway right through to Burma was ordered in December, 1941, and by great efforts this road was driven through by the following May. Down this one route from start to finish something like 200,000 refugees passed, down it marched General Alexander's Army and some thousands of our Chinese allies when they emerged from Burma, throughout that period thousands of coolies were engaged on the work of widening the existing road and constructing a new one, and all the time there was a steady flow of traffic in the opposite direction belonging to the fresh forces on their way to the Burma front.

#### NON-OFFICIAL HELP

As far as Assam was concerned, the refugee problem was mainly one of passing them on to their homes in India, and of alleviating the hardships of their journey through the province as much as possible. The responsibility for dealing with the situation in general belonged to the Central Government, and in March, 1942, they sent down General Wood with plenary powers to deal with this and all other transport problems in North Eastern India. Assam was drawn upon heavily—in fact, her cadres were depleted—in order to find men for this work, and very fine work they did.

A conspicuous part was played by the men and women of the tea-planting com-

and establish camps for refugees. Later on the tea industry as such put its entire resources at the disposal of Government for the combined purpose of relieving distress and of building roads. Labour was the great problem. They had the machinery for producing it, and they used it effectively, ungrudgingly and successfully. Their work deserves a whole lecture to itself, and I doubt if sufficient justice has ever yet been done to it.

When the refugees got to railhead they still needed assistance on the long railway journey to India proper. A call came for women helpers, and the W V S in Assam responded magnificently. This invaluable body of women had been inaugurated by my wife in August of the previous year in response to Lady Linlithgow's appeal. In a letter which my wife issued at that time she said that at first the W V S might be 'little more than a clearing house for information,' but events showed that the organization had been started not a bit too soon, and the foresight which had established W V S representatives in every district was fully vindicated when the call came for helpers for refugee work in 1942. The majority of the workers were planters' wives, who opened canteens on railway platforms and at steamer ghats to provide the exhausted, hungry and ill-clad immigrants with food, drink and clothing. These women worked hard and unceasingly in unpleasant surroundings, great heat and great discomfort, and earned the real gratitude of thousands of unfortunates who passed through their hands. When the refugee stream dried up the W V S workers turned over to the troops and ran canteens for them, work which they are still doing.

#### OTHER ROUTES

Two other defined routes were followed by the procession of Indians fleeing from the Japanese terror, the Hukawng Valley and the Chaukan Pass. It is estimated that some 20,000 persons passed by these two routes, and that about 1,400 died on the way. The Hukawng Valley route took them across very mountainous and almost uninhabited country intersected by numerous unbridged rivers, from Myitkyina in Upper Burma to railhead in Assam at Tipang near the Margherita coalfields. A number of camps under tea planter supervision were quickly pushed out to the Patkoi Range and beyond, and they did truly magnificent work. This movement took place much later than that down the Manipur Road, beginning in May, a month in which in those parts rain falls heavily. The route was very soon a sea of mud, in which many a weakly wayfarer was literally drowned. At the Burma end some lumps of food were put out, but arrangements were not complete, and there was a terrible lot of looting by the earlier and more able bodied parties. The R A F did fine work under dangerous flying conditions in dropping bags of food, and they saved many lives.

The Chaukan Pass route was even more perilous, and, in fact, all were warned not to attempt it. A number of persons did, however, get through with immense difficulty. Here, again, magnificent work was done by planters, in particular by Mr Gyles Mackrell, of Octavius Steel and Co., whose long experience of jungle work enabled him to rescue many lives. On these two routes fine work was done by anabor Labour Corps of 2,000 men, raised by Mr Walker of the Indian Police, who had been Assistant Political Officer at Pasighat, and whom the Abors knew and trusted.

It is to one of these subsidiary routes—I imagine the Hukawng Valley route—which the recent rather flamboyant telegrams in the papers refer. It would be most interesting to know exactly how far an all-weather, heavy traffic road has been driven, and also whether, as the newspapers seemed to imply, work has been carried on in the rains. By peace time standards the working season in those parts is confined to a few months in the winter, while the area is highly malarious and so sparsely inhabited that any hope of getting men or supplies locally can be set aside. So every kind of food has to be carried from a distant base, and all labour has to be imported. But the persistence of our Allies may have overcome these obstacles.

One feature of the Burma exodus was the extraordinarily few cases of cholera. I tribute this largely to the forethought of Colonel Shortt, I G C H, Assam, who ranged beforehand for large quantities of anticholera serum, and saw himself that

**AN UNJUSTIFIABLE CHARGE**

It is disagreeable to have to record that at one period, at any rate, the cry of racial discrimination was raised against those in charge of the Manipur refugee route. The charge was both cruel and unjustifiable, cruel because no body of men ever did better work for suffering humanity, unjustified because it had no foundation in fact. What was used as a basis for it was that at one time it became absolutely necessary to divide the stream of refugees for a certain distance on to two routes instead of one, a few to one and larger numbers to another. As a convenient way of dividing them, and because water was scarce on the former route, Europeans and those Indians who had adopted European habits were allotted to it and the rest to the other. That was all. There were no greater comforts or amenities on the one route than on the other. But the story persisted and lost nothing in the telling.

However, Mr Aney, the member of the Governor-General's Executive Council, who was in charge of that portfolio, and who paid a visit to the Manipur route in April, 1942, gave me to understand that he was not dissatisfied with the methods employed, though I am afraid that we in Assam did not think that he was sufficiently explicit on the subject when dealing with it in the Central Assembly. So perhaps I may be permitted to take this fresh opportunity of emphasizing how unjustified and unfair that criticism was.

The arrival of the weary, wounded, and malaria-stricken soldiery of the Burma Army threw a fresh strain on the WVS and other voluntary workers. They arrived with little warning and in large numbers, first in Gauhati and then in Shillong, and voluntary workers did fine work in alleviating suffering until the military medical authorities had evolved order out of the chaos which a lack of foresight somewhere or other had allowed to occur.

**TROOPS FROM THE WEST**

Before the tide of refugees and soldiery from the East had died away about the middle of the year, Assam suffered another sort of invasion from the West, that of the British and American Armies and Air Forces. In a land where, before 1941, not a single aerodrome existed, they can now be counted in scores, while places which had never seen a British soldier, much less an American one, have now got them not by battalions but by divisions. The defence of Assam in the event of a Japanese invasion naturally gave us plenty of thought, and one of the methods of defence that occurred to the local civil and military authorities was to build up a guerrilla force all along the hills from the Lushais in the south to the Nagas in the north. In connection with this irregular army the civil administration was rather proud of the fact that they undertook the preliminary spadework, and, indeed, committed themselves or some authority—we did not quite know what—to expenditure on an unknown but undoubtedly extensive scale, long before GHQ showed signs of active interest. What we did was to start testing the feeling of the tribes, making estimates of numbers, and making inquiries in all likely places for weapons, shotguns and the like, suitable for short range work. The Army took it over later on, and I am not in a position to say anything about its composition or its activities. If the tribes do not take very kindly to discipline, yet the spirit is there, and properly handled they can be relied upon to put up a very good show. They are, of course, a match for anyone in the world in the art of moving through jungle. To the Nagas, indeed, head-hunting is as the breath of life, albeit sadly interfered with in peace time by the rules of our administration.

Not the smallest trouble that the war brought to the province was high prices of all commodities, and in time, I believe, an actual shortage of food. We had already been very seriously concerned over the problem as early as March, 1942, and just before I left we were discussing the possibility of having to buy on a large scale through Government agency. I do not think the problem has ever reached proportions in Assam as serious as those in Bengal, but it has been and is a very formidable one. Perhaps the Assam Cabinet handled it better than their opposite numbers in Bengal.

**LOYAL HILL TRIBES**

I have mentioned the part played by the Lushais, the Nagas and the Abors. One should not omit the Khasis, the Garos and the Mikirs, who inhabit the hills lying between the Brahmaputra and Surma Valleys. As in the last war, they all came forward in good numbers to work as labourers or porters. There are, too, a large number of Khasi nurses serving in military hospitals. My wife tracked one down in a hospital in Colombo when we were on our way home, and with her was a Garo girl, one of the few nurses that that tribe has produced. It was a remarkable thing to find these two girls so far from their homes as in a Ceylon hospital, for, though their menfolk had gone in large numbers to France in Labour Corps in the last war, for a Khasi or Garo woman to go further afield than, say, Calcutta was practically unknown.

I have rather stressed the war effort of the Hill Tribes because the main impact of the war has inevitably fallen on the frontier areas lying between Assam and Burma. This eastern and southern border of Assam runs from the country of the Lushais in the south, through Manipur State and the Naga Hills district, up to the Tirap frontier tract, which is roughly opposite the Fort Hertz area of Burma. Except for Manipur State, which is under a ruling chief, all these areas, as well as the tribal areas of the northern fringe, are, under the present Constitution Act, classed as Excluded Areas. This of course very briefly means they are directly administered by the Governor, and the elected Ministry has no jurisdiction therein.

This direct administration of the Governor is not unfortunately as simple as it might appear, because he has to draw on the provincial revenues for the finance, and on the provincial cadres for the staff, of these areas, an arrangement which obviously contains the seeds of friction with a popularly elected Ministry. However much a Ministry may be inclined to be helpful to the Governor, they must inevitably be reluctant to furnish supply, over the expenditure of which they have no control, while both the Opposition and their own supporters are quick to find fault with them if they appear to be too complaisant in acceding to the Governor's demands for his Excluded Areas.

These tribes are still in general at a very primitive stage of civilization, in fact, the bow and arrow stage, supplemented by muzzle loaders, when they can get them, or, as the Nagas do, make them. They are traditionally and intensely loyal, and their loyalty has stood the test of this war just as triumphantly as it did in 1914-18. We have a great responsibility for their future welfare under the Indian post-war constitution. They are no match for the Indian politician, they look to us for protection, and they should have it. I do not advocate that we should keep them inside a ring fence as museum pieces for the anthropologist to study, but the time is yet far off when they can stand on their own political legs. Until they can it is our duty, as I see it, to save them from the disaster which to fling them unprotected into Indian politics must inevitably mean for them, and to find some means which will allow them to develop on their own lines—as they surely will.

Readers of Professor Coupland's invaluable report will have observed that in Part III he advocates special treatment for these peoples, linking their future very wisely with the problem of frontier defence. The case for such treatment is to my mind unanswerable, and if such a policy is carried out we shall not only have done our duty to these people but have retained for the empire a loyal, contented community, the more loyal and contented because of what they will owe to us.

## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at Caxton Hall on Wednesday, December 1, 1943, when Sir ROBERT N REID read a paper entitled "Assam and the War." The chair was taken by Sir JOHN WARDLAW-MILNE, KBE, MP.

The CHAIRMAN said that Sir Robert had unique qualifications for dealing with Assam. It was true that one's knowledge of India got out of date very soon, but in Sir Robert's case it was quite recent, for he was lately Governor of the important Province about which he was to speak, and he was in a position to afford them the latest information about it. Since leaving Assam he had occupied a very important position in connection with communications between India and China—a very important matter in the present war effort.

Sir ROBERT REID then read his paper.

The CHAIRMAN said that it would be agreed that they had listened to a most interesting account of one of the parts of the world which, he was afraid, was almost less known than any other part to the people of this country, and even to those who knew a good deal about India. In the paper itself there were two aspects of the matter on which he desired to say a word. The first was the question of Assam in the war. Few people in this country realized the tremendous strain on the Assam Government and administration when war with Japan broke out. But he knew that there was some little knowledge of the immense difficulties which faced that Government owing to the tremendous stream of refugees, and various suggestions had been discussed as to the measures which might be taken to help the Assam Government in dealing with these refugees who came over the border.

He was glad that Sir Robert had paid so generous a tribute to the tea planting community and to the oil industry for what they did in this connection. He had been able to elicit a few weeks ago a very willing tribute to these industries from the Secretary of State for India. He did not know, having heard Sir Robert's statement that day, what would have happened to those refugees had it not been for the remarkable work of the planters and the efforts which they made.

Another aspect of Sir Robert's address was the question of the future of the tribes in Assam after the war, when we got to the stage that a new constitution was working in India. He said frankly that he thought it would be a matter of the greatest difficulty to decide how to deal with these loyal people and it was one on which more information should be given to the people of this country. It was not going to be easy to find time to interest Parliament in matters of this kind while the war was being fought. There were so many things which those connected with the Government had to consider apart from this, but he hoped that Sir Robert Reid's remarks that day, and the information of a similar kind which might be forthcoming from other sources regarding the special consideration which must be given to these tribes in Assam, would be made as widespread as possible.

Mr W B BRYANS (Chairman of the Indian Tea Association) thanked Sir Robert Reid and the Chairman for the very appreciative terms in which they had spoken of the work which had been done by the Indian tea planting industry in connection with the evacuation of refugees from Burma, and also of the work done by the industry in connection with the construction of strategic roads. He quite agreed with Sir Robert Reid in thinking that this work did indeed merit a lecture to itself, and he was glad to say that he understood a book was shortly to be published in India which would give an account of all that had been done. It would, he thought, prove to be a book of the very greatest interest.

In the meantime it might be possible to throw a little additional light on what Sir Robert had said. During the past four and a half years he had been Chairman

of the Indian Tea Association in London, and he had thus been in very close contact with the Association in India and with the work which the tea industry had been doing in general.

The exodus from Burma began in the early part of 1942. It was, in fact, during February of that year that an urgent appeal was made to the tea industry to render assistance to the very large numbers of evacuees who were expected. At very short notice an organization was set up under the able leadership of the Chairman of the Indian Tea Association in Calcutta, which not only found the European and Indian personnel required for the large task ahead of them, but also arranged for the construction of reception camps along the routes of evacuation and for the water supplies, the medical supervision, the transport, and the hundred and one other things which such an exodus must necessitate. Then, on the Assam side, hospitals were set up for the reception of the many who, it was quickly seen, would arrive, if indeed arrive they did, in a state of dire distress and complete exhaustion.

In addition to this, the industry was called upon to find labour for the construction of a new line of communication with their allies in China in replacement of the Burma Road, which had been lost by the fall of Rangoon. This was not all, for the industry was also called upon to arrange for the construction of aerodromes and strategic roads. In a very short time very large numbers of labourers, running into many tens of thousands, were at work on these projects. It was a tremendous undertaking, and he felt that great credit was due to those on whom fell the responsibility for the organization.

The Chairman had said that he did not think that justice had yet been done to the efforts of the tea industry, but he himself was glad, as indeed all of those connected with the industry were, to know that their work had in fact been appreciated, not only by the award of honours by His Majesty the King to particular individuals, but by recognition by the Viceroy, the Commander-in-Chief, and the Governors of Assam and of Burma.

Professor J H Hutton said that it had given him great pleasure to listen to this paper as one who had been away from Assam for six years. It had furnished an account of what the Province had done in the war. Accounts of this kind had been poor and scanty. His only justification for saying a few words that afternoon was that he felt that he could add something to what Sir Robert Reid had said about the future of the Hill Tribes. In race and culture these people belonged, not to India at all, but to Oceania or at least Indonesia. They were near relatives of the people of Borneo, the Philippines, Melanesia, and so forth, and were quite different in feeling and outlook from the Indians. Take, for example, the practice of head hunting, which was still indulged in whenever possible by the Assam Hill Tribes mentioned. When Sir Robert said that it was the breath of life to them he was speaking in a sense deeper than perhaps he realized, because these people had a strong belief that life was a concrete thing which ran about the body and was particularly concentrated in the head. Therefore, if a head were cut off and taken home, the life would leap out of it and revivify the whole surroundings. Theirs was really a philosophical religion which they put into practice whenever they got the chance, which was not so frequently as formerly. But their whole culture belonged to Indonesia rather than to the people of the Indian plains. They were not without intelligence. While he was in India a Khasi took the prize in philosophy in Calcutta over the heads of the Bengalis. When the Lhota Nagas were given a sort of rural district council as an experiment in a district of which he was in charge, they proved to be able and willing to tax themselves. They raised taxes amongst themselves entirely without the aid of any official, and the money was used for building bridges and improving communications between their villages. There was real reason to believe that if they were thrown into the general welter of Indian politics they would get a very poor deal from their neighbours in the plains. He did not say that in any spirit derogatory to their neighbours, but these hill folk were few and poor on the whole, and their interests would go to the wall when they came up against the interests of better organized communities. He had had a certain amount of experience which proved the truth of that when he was in charge of a district in the foothills.

found that the people of the local Hill Tribe were being systematically swindled by the people of the plains, particularly in the excise shops

Sir SAINAVASA SARMA said that the paper had been very illuminating. In a cold and matter-of-fact style the author had unfolded a most glamorous story, one of the most magnificent of the whole war. He had set it forth with the reserve, moderation, and restraint characteristic of the country to which he belonged. He had told them something of the road which was complete in May and which helped the evacuation of 200,000 people and the movement of troops. The making of that road was an epic story, an engineering feat which was all the more remarkable when the obstructions and the unhealthy conditions under which the work had been done were considered. He considered it a feat ranking next to the construction of the Pyramids. That might sound an exaggeration, but those who knew something of the achievement would not deem it to be so.

Sir Robert Reid had spoken of the part played by the people of the tea plantations and the oil interests, and the Chairman of the Indian Tea Association had added something to the story. He understood Sir Robert Reid to say that full justice had not been done to that industry on the part of those who benefited from it. He himself as an Indian most fully acknowledged it. Moreover, he belonged to South India, and the mass of people who were evacuated from Burma and went through Assam were themselves South Indians from Madras. Therefore, as an Indian, and as representing the Indians of the Madras Province who benefited particularly by the measures of the Assam Government and by the work of the tea and oil interests, he wished to add his tribute of gratitude and appreciation of their magnificent efforts. To Sir Robert, not only as the distinguished lecturer of the afternoon, but also as having presided over the Province most efficiently at the time, he as an Indian paid a tribute of appreciation and admiration.

Mr E S ROPPEY said that after a residence of thirty years in Assam he had been particularly interested in listening to the paper. There was one matter on which he thought he could throw a little light—namely, the shortage of food. Sir Robert Reid had said that in May, 1942, the question of food was already a matter of anxiety. He could assure them that since that date it had become acute and at one period seemed dangerous, but it resulted in the Government of Assam appointing an Economic Advisory Board which sat, he believed, every month to consider not only food supplies, but all consumer commodities. Subsequently that Board appointed Government buyers for all such commodities, and they, coupled with tea planters in specified areas, had since that date been purchasing rice paddy and all the consumer commodities. He was glad to say that the situation had very greatly improved. One of the advantages had been that the tea planting community had been able to sell to their labourers at far less than cost price rice and paddy and other commodities. As Vice-Chairman of the Indian Tea Association he was in weekly correspondence with Calcutta, and he had last month learnt that the Government of Assam had introduced a scheme of price control which he thought was functioning quite as well as could be expected.

Neither in the Press nor elsewhere did one read anything about the Assam Regiment—its strength, its activities, and its present headquarters. If any information were available it would be interesting to have it.

Mr H S L POLAK said that he was surprised that so admirable a statement as this should have had to be made so late, because it seemed to him that there had been a long period during which people especially in the United States, had been allowed to draw very wrong conclusions as to the nature and character of the administration in countries like Malaya, Burma and Assam. If this information had been available and duly circulated in the United States much earlier, he thought there would have been far less of this criticism of "cold-blooded" British exploitation of colonial territory. It was very difficult to catch up with that kind of thing, even when one was in a position to produce admirable material such as had been provided to the Association that day. It was interesting to hear that a book was

shortly to be published in India dealing with some of these problems. He hoped it might be expanded into several volumes because this was the kind of material which ought to be brought to the notice of people, especially our Allies, who had wrong ideas of British administration in these areas. He was not going to pretend that the administration had been at all times what it ought to have been, but it had been a widely different thing from the sort of concept one found was widely prevalent. Such papers as this should be brought to the notice of American representatives in this country and circulated as far as possible in the United States.

Mrs A COLLETT BARNES said that she recently heard a lecture given to the English-Speaking Union by a very well-known American editor, and as a result of what he said she suggested that such a paper as Sir Robert Reid's should be sent to *Harper's Magazine* which circulated all over the United States and had an authority similar to that of *The Times* in England.

Sir ROBERT REID said that he had been singularly fortunate in having had no awkward questions put to him. With regard to the Assam Regiment, he was prepared to take a chance so far as security went and to say that that regiment was inaugurated in the early part of 1941 at a pleasing ceremony at Government House. As far as he knew, it was still serving on the confines of Assam, and very soon after the first battalion was completed a second battalion was started. He believed it had had a very good effect on the Province.

Sir WILLIAM BARTON proposed a hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman and to Sir Robert Reid. He remarked that for something like a hundred years interest concentrated on the North West Frontier and its military problems, and no one had ever thought that the clouds of war would gather on the North East Frontier. Very few people knew anything about that frontier when this trouble came upon us. They had reason to be all the more grateful to Sir Robert Reid for the account he had given of the wonderful work he had done in effecting the refugee movement from Burma. He was glad that one very important point had been stressed—namely, the responsibility of the British for the Assam and Burma frontier tribes.

The CHAIRMAN thanked those present on behalf of Sir Robert Reid and himself. With regard to the remarks on the subject of information to be given to America, he thought it was vitally important that the people of this country should understand what happened in Assam and the difficulties which were surmounted there, but it was almost more important that these things should be known in the United States. He had only recently returned from that country, and he had found the people singularly uninformed about what was happening in some theatres of war. In reality many Americans knew very little about the war except that part of it which concerned Pearl Harbour and Tokio. They heard nothing much except what America was doing in the war. This was a very serious matter because of its reflection upon American opinion generally, and it was necessary to bring home to Americans particularly the facts in a story such as the speaker had unfolded that afternoon.

## INDIA'S PART IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

By SIR GEORGE SCHUSTER, K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., C.B.E., M.C., M.P.

THIS Association has provided many discussions on the Indian problem, but these have normally been focused on its internal aspects, treating it as a subject which could be considered by itself. Today I want to ask you to consider India, not as an isolated country, but as a very important element in what we now recognize to be 'one world'. To consider the matter in this way has a double value. First, it is realistic, since no constitutional status for India can have any validity without external security. Secondly, if Indians can see themselves and their own problems as important factors in the achievement of a new world order, that may in itself help to resolve the internal conflicts.

Discussion in India has tended to be self-centred and strangely anachronistic. It has taken for granted that Indians could shape or muddle out their own future without any interference from outside, that all that they had to do was to get the British off their backs and then get on with their own affairs. That, in the present world, is not realism. Controversies based on nineteenth-century conceptions are out of date. We have all of us to look forward to a new world. We have all of us got to have the courage and vision to plan new policies. I do not want to be misunderstood on this matter. If, as I shall do, I emphasize the view that India must work together with other countries, and especially with Britain, in building up her place in a new structure of world security, that is not some new clever dodge to find excuses for delaying India's constitutional freedom. I think of the future in terms of an India which is self governing—Independent if you like—in full equality with other free nations. But, if we are to have a world order within which there is to be a sure prospect for human progress, then all countries—and India among them—must temper their national independence with a recognition of international interdependence.

How then are the next steps to be taken which will give India her right place in the structure of world security? That structure must be built anew, fit to be stable against stresses and strains from new forces, fit to withstand new vibrations, and fit, let us hope, to carry a new superstructure of fuller, happier human life.

This is a matter to which others, besides myself, have been giving much thought. I shall have to cover some ground on which I have, during November, written two articles in the *Spectator*, and I shall also make reference to certain recent publications with which most of you are probably familiar, but which, if not, I commend to your attention. These are

- (1) Walter Lippmann's book, *United States Foreign Policy*
- (2) *The Future of South East Asia*, by K. M. Panikkar
- (3) An article which appeared last August in *Agenda* by an author using the pseudonym of "Tabloid"
- (4) Part III of Professor Coupland's Report on India (especially the last two chapters)

Then I must refer also to the Report of the Proceedings of the Conference on Pacific Relations, held in Canada last December, in which there is a brief record of a plan put forward by Lord Hailey, which is an important contribution to thought on the matters that we are to discuss today.

### KEY GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION

Now let us turn to the problem and take a look at the map.

I have two maps of the world here. The one is the usual form, showing our island in the centre with the western half stretching across the Atlantic to the American continent and the eastern half extending to the limits of Asia and the

Pacific. The other I have arranged so as to show India at the centre. This may be a better way to look at the picture, since it places at the centre the areas which may well, in the epoch that lies before us, be the least stabilized portions of the world and therefore the focal points of interest. They are the areas, too, of most rapidly increasing population, and will consequently have the youngest populations. As Walter Lippman writes "In the East the whole situation is dynamic and set for epoch-making change, of which we cannot foresee the limits. The defeat of Japan will be the beginning and not the end of profound historic change in the Eastern world."

It is in this setting that India is placed, and within it she occupies a geographical position of key importance. She lies, in fact, at the centre of the Indian Ocean basin, which must be regarded as one of the great natural strategic zones of the world. It can be so described for two reasons. First, as I shall explain later, the Indian Ocean region (which I take to include India, Burma and Ceylon, together with the countries of 'Further India'—Thailand, Indo-China, the East Indies and Malaya) must be considered essentially as one region for the purpose of strategic defence. Secondly, it lies on one of the main routes of world communications. For many countries, including India herself, free traffic through the Indian Ocean area is vital. It has throughout the ages been an area in which the Powers of the world have been interested. I always think, indeed, that there is illuminating truth in Seeley's *Expansion of England*, when he reads history as showing that the spread of British power into this area was essentially part of the conflict between Britain and France as European Powers, rather than a deliberate expansion of British Empire undertaken for its own sake.

#### THE END OF A CHAPTER

For the last century and more, free traffic through the Indian Ocean, and peace in the lands surrounding it, have been taken for granted. Why? Because peaceful British power dominated the scene and kept open, and safe for every nation, the main gateways from the Suez Canal to Singapore. The only threats of disturbance from outside have been the possibility of penetration by Tsarist Russia and a possible threat for a short time from the German Colonies in East Africa. Whatever may be thought of the experiences, cultural, political, economic, of the countries which came under this British influence, at least they all enjoyed throughout this long period an advantage unfamiliar in Asia, that of undisturbed peace.

But that epoch is ended. And its end has come not merely because the rise of Oriental nationalism has created new conditions, but rather as the final step in the policy deliberately framed from the beginning by Britain. It is easy to talk of ending an old régime, but have we, or the people of India and the other countries of the region, thought clearly enough what the new régime is to be? Have we not all been drifting along, making a number of assumptions not clearly tested, and failing to take account of all the changes in the surrounding world? We have been thinking of a policy for these countries which can be conveniently described as "piecemeal dominionization." We assume, too, the same sort of policy for other countries included in the area. Thus Panikkar in his book quotes as a typical British view an article from the *Economist* written a month after the fall of Singapore:

"There can be no return," it says, "to the old system once Japan has been defeated. The need is for entirely new principles or rather the consistent application of principles to which lip service has long been paid. For the British Colonies, Malaya, Indo-China, Netherlands India, there can be only one goal, the creation of independent nations linked economically, socially and culturally with the old mother country, but learning to stand firmly on their own feet."

#### \* \* \* EVILS OF BALKANIZATION

That is all easily written, and it is a picture which British opinion readily accepts. But are economic, social, and cultural links enough? And is it enough to consider the links of these countries with the mother countries? Must we not also consider their links with each other? Does this picture fully represent all the realities? No. There is much more to be said. It is urgent to realize, and to make that realization

the starting point of policy, that there can be no real progress or hope of permanence in the new system if all that is achieved is to create a group of fragmentary succession States—in short, to "Balkanize" the area. The lessons of history are clear. We need to turn back the pages no further than the story of Central and Eastern Europe after the last war. A jumble of weak States, each jealous of its neighbours and inspired by violent local sentiments, can be nothing but a fatal weakness in the structure of world security. Instead of providing an area of stability, weak countries in this position are more likely to become a prey to outside forces, and thus a breeding ground for fresh wars.

Is there any hope in the Indian Ocean Region, if we think only in terms of this piecemeal dominionization, of producing any other result? Consider for a moment the British territories in this area. Already fissiparous tendencies have gone far in India, and we have to contemplate a separate Hindustan, a separate Pakistan, and possibly a separate State comprising the territories of the Princes. Then there will be separate States for Burma, Ceylon, and eventually Malaya. Each of these by itself must have relatively weak defences, each may quarrel with the others, since there are many potential causes of friction. Even if they remain members of the British Commonwealth, that formal connection alone gives no guarantee of common action.

It is hardly necessary to elaborate the point. But perhaps someone will ask, "Why all this talk of security? Where is the potential enemy against whom security is sought? What aggressive Power is to be found in the area except Japan? Will not Japan be crushed and powerless after the war?"

My answer to such questions is that it was in just such a mood that we all faced the future after 1918. We thought Germany was for ever emasculated, and that Russia was in such chaos that she could not within any foreseeable time become a great military Power to be taken into account among world forces. And now we know the realities. Look back on the past fifty years and consider what changes there have been in national fortunes and ambitions. Changes on such a scale may obviously repeat themselves. Who can tell now what China will become, in what direction the dynamic forces of the Russian colossus may press, in what form Japan will take her place again among the nations? That she can be utterly crushed out is impossible.

#### **POST WAR DYNAMIC CHANGES**

To take account of these unpredictable possibilities implies no pessimism—nor indeed any lack of trust in those who now have power in countries like Russia and China. But none of the present leaders can guarantee the future course of their peoples. All that can be said is that these peoples stand at the beginning of a period of dynamic change. To speculate what they might do is idle. It is idle, too, I venture to think, to attempt forecasts of Indian tendencies based on the appreciation of present feelings. I have heard it said, for example, that these tendencies will pull broadly in two different directions, that the Congress Party and the Hindu population generally may tend to look eastwards towards China for their political affinities, whereas the Muslims will be attracted the other way towards the Muslim peoples of the Middle East and Africa. These are mere speculations. If I myself were to venture an opinion it would be that impressions taken from the present political schism between the Congress Party and the Muslim League may be most misleading guides, and that there is a distinctive Indian national character and civilization which makes the Indian Hindus and Indian Muslims much closer together and more at home with each other than either could be with other races or societies or civilizations—in fact, that they are all essentially the children of Mother India.

But mine, like the others, are mere speculative guesses about a future which is in any case uncertain and which is now obscured by smoke-screens of political controversy.

It is more valuable to approach the matter in another way, to start by assessing the certainties of the existing world situation, and against that background to consider the special position of India. If one attempts to do that it seems to me that two broad realities stand out.

"The world we live in," writes Walter Lippmann, "is a world of many sovereign national States, and for the purposes of practical action this condition is given and unalterable. A Roman peace, in which one State absorbs and governs all others, is so completely impossible in our time that we need not stop to argue whether it would be inferno or Utopia. If there is to be peace in our time it will have to be peace among sovereign national States, and the makers of foreign policy can be concerned with no other form of peace."

Here it seems to me is reality, and the conclusion as to the immediate impossibility of complete political world unity is, I believe, true, whether we think in terms of one super State absorbing all others or of all States coming together in a world Federation to which, for certain purposes at least, they would surrender their sovereign powers.

#### INDIA'S EXTERIOR COMMITMENTS

The second reality which must be recognized is this. In the world as thus visualized, every nation, if it is to have freedom to develop its own destiny, must have commitments with other nations, in the sense that it must have ideals, interests and ambitions which it may wish either to assert abroad or at least to develop at home without interference from abroad. Therefore it must have a foreign policy, and, to refer again to Walter Lippmann, I accept his thesis that a foreign policy consists in bringing into balance the nation's power and the nation's commitments"—using commitments in the wide sense which I have indicated. "The true statesman, therefore," says Mr Lippmann, "having determined the foreign commitments which are vitally necessary to his people, will never rest until he has mustered the force to cover them" and that means "the force that he can muster at home, combined with the support he can find abroad among other nations which have similar interests, ideals and ambitions." A country may put its "commitments" high or low, but whether it be a country such as Germany, with dynamic expansive ambitions, or Switzerland, which seeks only to hold what it already has, or the United States, which has undertaken to defend the whole American Continent and which also has a great stake in world peace and the advancement of world trade, its statesmen must bring ends and means into balance. If they do not they will follow a course that leads to disaster.

This is a realistic appreciation. Starting from it, an independent India must ask: What are our "commitments" in this sense? What force can we muster? Where shall we look for support to combine with our own force? What nations with ideals, interests and ambitions similar to our own are likely to give it? What complementary help can we offer in return?

These are vital questions. Are they being considered in India today?

#### A CONFERENCE VISION

Let me put forward a vision. The war is over. The troops have all gone home and India wakes up one morning to a new world with an absolutely clean sheet before her on which to write her plans—no Constitution, no British troops or British officials in the country, nothing but Indians getting together to settle their own affairs. "A ridiculous picture," you may say. "It bears no relation to any situation which could really arise." True, but it is very like the situation which Mr Gandhi has asked for, and to put this picture before us in our imagination may help to clear our minds. Presumably the well known figures would get together to settle the plan. These you can fill in to taste, but at any rate Gandhi and Jinnah would be there. Let us suppose that the vital questions to which I have called attention are raised. I can imagine Mr Gandhi saying that they need not be considered since India under his leadership would never contemplate the use of violence, and therefore the question of having adequate force to balance the Indian interests that have to be preserved does not arise. He might argue that India should be a sort of Switzerland of the East, that she might rely on the friendly goodwill of the surrounding nations and need take no thought of defending herself. Then I can imagine Jinnah bursting in. "This is utter nonsense! Switzerland has never mattered strategically or economically to the surrounding nations. It suited all the

European Powers to have a small bit of unviolated neutral territory, though if Germany had swallowed all Europe she would, of course, have swallowed Switzerland, too. But India matters—strategically and economically—to everybody. She has always been a temptation to ambitious Powers, and until the millennium comes and the tiger lies down with the lamb there will always be this danger. This war has been a war for power, and the struggle for power will not cease when it is over. If we want to stand as an Indian nation we must have power to defend ourselves, and we have been kept in swaddling clothes so long by the British that we are not yet ready alone to do that. That is our cursed fate. But it is no use deceiving ourselves with mealy mouthed phrases. We have got to face the facts. We do not want force for aggressive purposes, but we must maintain our territorial integrity and we must have freedom to trade. Therefore, what we have to do is to work out plans to build up our own Army, Navy, and Air Force, and while we are doing that we must work with those outside nations that can best give us the help we need and whom we can best trust. Let us get down to realities and consider exactly what plan is necessary. We must get in our military experts to advise us."

I will not continue describing my imaginary conference. A lively pen might construct an amusing dialogue, and, as I have said, to visualize the position in this crude way has its value. But these are deadly serious matters. Having brought the discussion to the point of getting experts' views on a security plan, it is well to consider what that would be. Here, since I am not an expert, and since I do not wish to say anything that would suggest that I am basing myself on private discussions, I propose to take an appreciation already published—viz., that of the *Agenda* article, which seems to me to give a clear picture.

The essential thing is to think in terms of the Indian Ocean area as a single strategic zone the defence of which depends on holding the main gateways.

Provided, first, that the principal countries of the Indian Ocean basin remain in amity and co-operation with one another, and, secondly, that no new ambitious Power is allowed to penetrate into that area, India's strategic problem (which she shares with her fellow-countries of the area) reduces itself to the defence of certain clear main lines of entry. To make her fair contribution to the discharge of this task is within her capacity.

If, on the other hand, either part of the proviso no longer held good—that is to say, if India had to face the possibility of attack by a Great Power which had penetrated into the Indian Ocean zone, or had split the member countries of that zone into hostile groups and formed an alliance with one of them—then her task of self-defence would be altogether beyond her means. For it would include the protection of an immense coastline (which could not be done without a substantial navy and a powerful air force as well as large numbers of ground troops) and the manning of the east and west frontiers on a far more massive scale than has hitherto been necessary. If she attempted this task it would indefinitely retard her social and economic development."

#### ESSENTIAL MILITARY REQUIREMENTS

The "main lines of entry" are from the east through the Straits of Malacca or across the Malay Peninsula, from the west down the Red Sea or the Persian Gulf, or from the south west round the Cape from the Atlantic. Obviously the danger of attack from these directions, especially the last, depends on how far India can rely on the power of the British Navy. Besides these lines there are more difficult land approaches through the north west passes of India or the northern passes of Burma and Assam. The questions after the war will be what burden the United Kingdom will be able to sustain, what the attitude of the Dominions will be, what will be the policies of Russia and China, and what share in a system of security America will take. But in any case it is clear that the solution of the Indian Ocean security problem will require

' a system of strategic co-operation among the countries present in the Indian Ocean basin, with the main purpose of co-operating in the defence of the main gateways of that area, as part of a world-wide system of defence'

The essential military requirements of such a system are

- (i) The maintenance of adequate naval forces in the Indian Ocean and adjacent waters,
- (ii) The establishment of a pattern of air and naval bases throughout the area, with arrangements for their adequate defence, which must include defence of hinterlands and surrounding territories,
- (iii) The maintenance of adequate land and air forces in the following key areas (a) Suez Canal, (b) head of the Persian Gulf, (c) North-Western India, (d) Northern Burma, (e) Malaya, (f) Northern and Eastern Australia, (g) Netherlands East Indies and other pickets and strong points of the eastern island barriers,
- (iv) The maintenance of adequate reserves of material and trained men within the area, and, finally,
- (v) The existence, within the area, of economic and industrial resources sufficient at least to 'service' in war time the necessary forces and means of transport, and to provide them with the great bulk of their actual equipment, including the most advanced instruments of war'

Here, then, is the situation into which India and the other countries of the area must fit themselves. How far will the political situation and the will of their peoples make this possible? Obviously a large measure of unity among themselves and of co-operation with outside Powers will be necessary. Obviously, too, the reliance on outside Powers will be very great at the beginning, until the countries can build up their own resources. Will this receive political support? In all these countries this new need for co-operation, this recognition of their interdependence both with each other and with external great Powers will coincide with what they have looked forward to as the dawn of a new day of their national freedom and independence. How can the two be reconciled? That is the real problem. It affects all the peoples of this area, but I shall only attempt today to deal with India.

#### "THE FUTURE OF SOUTH EAST ASIA"

It is to this problem that Panikkar in his book has realistically addressed himself. His appreciation agrees with that which I have given, and his main points are First, that the security of the region can only be maintained with a powerful India as its nucleus, which means an India with adequate forces and a modern industry to equip them. Secondly, that India cannot abdicate her responsibility as the base for order since, unless the whole region is secure, she herself is not secure. Thirdly, that in present circumstances India can only discharge this responsibility if she is allied with an external great Power. This great Power, he concludes, must be Britain. But it must be a Britain in an entirely new relationship with India. What he contemplates is an alliance and even something more than an alliance—a long period of co-operation. He sees a wide significance in this "If," he writes, "Indian independence means a withdrawal of Britain into Africa and not a transformation of British relations with the peoples of the East and a new conception of collaboration, then it means the end of all ideas of a world organization and of a civilization based on the co-operation of races." This basic idea is fully developed in his book. But he treats it with a sense of realism and recognizes that, if it is to be permanent and sure, the relationship between India and Britain must be one of mutual advantage. He sees possibilities of mutual advantage in trade exchanges, but he sees them still more in co-operation for security. In fact, he regards the prospect of an independent India handling her own naval problems and exercising command of the regional seas as providing the "only safe plan for Britain, since the policy of a naval garrison under the long shadow of the Grand Fleet has been conclusively proved inadequate for modern conditions." In seeing India's special link with Britain he does not exclude from his vision the prospects of her wider collaboration through Britain with the other members of the United Nations.

All this is well said, and contains much wisdom. But it does not by itself solve what I have already called the real problem—how to reconcile the need for unity in foreign policy and defence with the new-born desire to split apart into frag-

mentary independent units Panikkar is fully aware of this problem In the case of India he faces the reality of the Hindu Muslim split At the same time he recognizes that his whole plan for co-operation will be insecure unless India has a stable political organization, and thus, as he says, can only be created by Indians He looks for a solution not in a Federation (since a Federal Government which would be accepted by the Muslims could only be a very weak one), but in what he describes as "an organic relationship between two independent States (Hindustan and Pakistan), between whom there will be no place for constitutional safeguards or majority or minority considerations The two States so constituted could then work together on matters of defence and foreign policy, and, if they so desired, on any other matter, like external customs, inter statal transport and currency, in which they have a common interest' He further proposes that these two Indian States should work together with Burma in what he calls a Triune Commonwealth

But merely to use words like "organic relationship" does not solve the problem The essential question is, How will it work? Can unity for defence and foreign policy be combined with disunity in domestic policies?

#### OTHER PROPOSALS

The same essential question remains unanswered in Professor Coupland's plan He, too, concludes that no Constitution will work which does not recognize the separate nationhood of the Muslims But he chooses the Federal plan, and frankly proposes a 'weak' Federal Government, acting not as a superimposed authority, but rather as the agent for the units to carry out purposes which they have agreed must be treated on an All India basis His weak Federal Government, however, is to handle foreign policy, defence, currency, customs policy and probably communications But defence and foreign policy—not to mention currency and tariffs—cannot be handled by a weak Government or in detachment from general national policy They go right down into the vitals of all national policy Armaments and social welfare must inevitably make competing demands on national resources To have a weak Central Government handling 'guns' and strong constituent State Governments handling 'butter' must lead to paralysis and deadlock Panikkar's 'organic relationship, too, must break down if the related States differ in their choice between "guns" and "butter"

One may turn from plans of this type to others, which seek to create unity by merging the defence of India and the other countries in a wider combination The author of the *Agenda* article proposes an Indian Ocean Security Council, the machinery for which he works out in some detail This plan contains many constructive ideas, but the Council is to be an expert body and in the last resort to be no more than advisory Such a Council may be a valuable adjunct, but by itself provides no solution It cannot produce unity unless there is a will to unity among the peoples concerned

Then there is Lord Hailey's proposal for a Pacific Zone Council This proposal, as I understand it, takes us into a wider zone with its centre of gravity further east It places the main emphasis on the need for active co-operation of the world Powers concerned (among which it is hoped that America will be included), and contemplates that these Powers should work together with the peoples of the Zone The aim of the plan is to promote among these peoples "the status which will give them both the incentive and means to organize for their own defence" The Council would have a double function First, it would be the local agency for whatever organization may be established by the United Nations for safeguarding the peace of the world Secondly, it would secure, by joint consultation and co-operative action, a common economic policy in the Zone This plan is an important contribution, and it has the special value that it would link up India with the whole United Nations organization for safeguarding the peace of the world This might help to secure Indian agreement, since the Congress leaders at least have indicated that they would be ready to join a world organization But, however valuable this feature, I feel convinced—and I believe Lord Hailey would agree—that we cannot rely on it alone to overcome all the difficulties which arise from local antagonisms and rivalries, and that Panikkar is right both in stressing the necessity for a stable

political organization in India and in recognizing that this must be the creation of Indians themselves An India weakened by internal controversy and unable to play its own proper part in a security plan must be a flaw—and probably a fatal flaw—in any scheme So we are brought back again to the same problem How to create effective co-operation for defence and foreign policy between States which desire to keep apart in their domestic policies

### THE NEXT STEP

Is there any way round these difficulties? I will not venture to propound any final plan In fact, I do not believe that an all sufficing solution is possible now But I do believe that the next steps to be taken are clear

The first necessity is that the realities of the security question should be faced by all concerned—by India and the whole British Commonwealth, by America and all the United Nations Especially is it necessary for the Indian leaders to think realistically on these matters They should think of themselves as sitting round the Conference Table in my visionary scene They should reflect, too, on the words of Field Marshal Smuts, 'Peace unbacked by power remains a dream' So, too, does independence

Secondly, I believe that the right course is to consider the problem rather in terms of a definite practical programme than of a constitutional arrangement My belief is that, at least in the initial stage, no *constitutional* arrangements for the Indian Ocean countries can be devised which could both satisfy their claims for national liberty and be trusted automatically to ensure common action for defence What is needed as a start is something less ambitious and more concrete—a definite programme, say a ten year programme, for the next steps, to be embodied in treaties which would themselves be integral parts of the final peace settlement and the post war policy of the United Nations There could be no better way to bring home to all concerned the vital need for co-operation than to discuss the key questions involved in such a programme What is to be the defence plan for this area? How far is it a matter of guarding the gateways or strategic outposts? Where must these be placed? With what forces must they be guarded? What industrial capacity must be built up within the area to equip and service them? By what stages can this capacity be built up? What contribution is to be made by each of the nations within the area and by the Powers outside to the common defence task? It is by facing questions like these—and there are many more—that we can all get down to realities

### THE TRANSITION PERIOD

In the case of India, although her part in the main strategic plan will concern all the United Nations, the primary discussion of practical arrangements must inevitably be with the British, since the affairs of the two are already so mixed up The main questions are clear What forces shall India provide? What is to be the programme for their training? When will they be complete with Indian arms and Indian personnel from the highest command downwards? How is the transition period to be handled? The initiative for discussing these questions is a British responsibility, and the time is near when the initiative should be taken

I believe that this idea, which is necessary for its own sake, may have great value in opening a way out of the constitutional deadlock It would bring the fresh air of reality into the fouled atmosphere of the old constitutional wrangles Therefore I have suggested that there should be a new approach, a new British message to India

We stand,' that might run, 'on our past declaration You are to frame your Constitution and to choose independence if you so desire But independence is meaningless without external security To provide that we must all pull together Here is our plan—the plan of the United Nations Will you play your part? Will you agree with us on ours, on the preparation and garrisoning of the necessary bases, etc? The plan involves the development of Indian industry We want to help you in that Will you work out a plan and tell us what help you want from us?' From realistic discussions of such questions all parties might turn back to the constitutional problem in a new spirit.

### A LEAD FROM BRITAIN

At any rate, I urge strongly that a new approach on these lines ought to be started in the near future. As I have said, the initiative is a British responsibility. But, clearly, before taking it, it would be well to make known our plan to the other United Nations, since the full security plan for the Indian Ocean area as part of a world plan will be the joint concern of all the United Nations. This is important for another reason. I agree with Professor Coupland that co-operation as between the different communities in India, and also as between India and the other countries of South East Asia, must be much more acceptable to the peoples concerned if it is understood that the form of this co-operation is determined by agreements made and responsibilities undertaken in accordance with a new international order. It is this idea which provides the brightest gleam of hope for a full solution of the internal dilemma in India. 'In short,' as I have written elsewhere, 'the full solution of India's problem depends on the new world order. It is not only India that has to find a way whereby, for security and economic welfare, separate nations can work as one. If the United Nations can find the way, if India can have an honoured place among them in the new world order, then many rough places will be made plain.'

That is the ultimate hope, but the first steps towards its realization should be taken on the lines which I have sketched. It is for Britain to give the lead, and the steps should not be long delayed.

### FURTHER DISCUSSIONS NEEDED

I want to end up with some practical suggestions for further discussion. I have concentrated today on India as the central core to the Indian Ocean area. But India must work with the countries of Further India, and I may add that the way in which these countries are brought into the picture is one of the most valuable features of Panikkar's book. Therefore I venture the suggestion that this Association should arrange further discussions so as to cover the whole subject properly, and should for this purpose get persons with direct knowledge of these countries to prepare papers linking up with our discussion today.

Beyond this, the Dominions, especially Australia, South Africa, and New Zealand, are vitally interested in this matter. Would it not be valuable to have a further discussion at which the point of view of these Dominions could be represented?

This suggestion brings me into a wider field, which I obviously cannot cover now. I will only express my belief that the epoch which is now beginning demands a new conception of the relations among the members of the Commonwealth. We need to get closer together. I do not think that need can be fully met merely by having closer central relations. I think there should be regional groups. I should like to see a South Eastern Dominions Conference or Council in which India would take part with Australia, South Africa and New Zealand. I believe that India might better carry her full weight in such a group than in a comprehensive Commonwealth group centred on London. I believe, too, that it would be valuable for these Dominion countries to come into joint counsel with India for discussing their common affairs.

That, of course, does not exclude the idea of a wider Zone Council in which all the United Nations would take part. But I think the British countries of the area should work as a group, and I hope that India will remain with this group.

The two suggestions which I have made imply that this Association should in its own programme recognize that the problem of India can no longer be considered in isolation. I believe such recognition would be valuable. The Indian problem has become part of the world problem, and can only find a full solution if all the United Nations together can build a structure of world security in which India in equality with them can find an honoured place.

N.B.—The Discussion on this paper will be printed in the April issue of THE ASIATIC REVIEW.

(*End of the Proceedings of the East India Association*)

## THE FUTURE OF INDIA

By H G RAWLINSON, C.I.E

TIME passes, and a solution to the Indian problem seems as distant as ever. Twenty years ago, in the high and palmy days of the Khilafat Movement, a Hindu-Muslim *entente* seemed to be almost a *fait accompli*. Even a purely Muhammadan province like the North West Frontier went over to Congress.

But disillusionment followed when the Congress party obtained sweeping majorities in seven out of the eleven Provinces in the elections of 1937. It was assumed by the framers of the Constitution that all provincial ministries would be coalitions. "No wise Chief Minister," said Sir C P Ramaswami Aiyar, "will forget an important minority community, because, unless he gets the minorities to support him, he may not find it possible to run the Government." This was done in the Punjab, where under the leadership of the late Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, Hindu, Sikh and Muhammadan ministers worked together with complete absence of friction.

But the Congress High Command would have none of it. By a ukase issued from their headquarters at Wardha, Premiers were forbidden to nominate anyone as a Minister unless he was a member of the party. And so, though there were one or two Muslims in most of the provincial Cabinets, they were by no means representative of their electorate. It soon became evident that Congress, though it contained a handful of Muhammadans, was really out for a Hindu Raj. Its methods were those of absorption, not coalition. The results soon became evident in Congress-ruled provinces. It became increasingly difficult for non-Congressmen to get Government employment, and children attending Government schools had to do *puja* to portraits of Gandhi. Urdu was replaced by Hindi. Communal tension grew more bitter from day to day, in the two years preceding the war there were in various parts of India eighty five major riots, with over 2,000 casualties. In the United Provinces and Bihar matters were so desperate that if the war had not intervened law and order would have collapsed.

The reply on the part of the Muslim League was to sponsor the plan entitled Pakistan, which envisaged the formation of two autonomous Muslim states, the one comprising the Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan, and the North West Frontier Province and the other Bengal and Assam. At first there was no idea of a disruption of India. Writing to *Time and Tide* in January, 1940, Mr Jinnah said: "A Constitution must be evolved that recognizes that there are in India two nations, who must both share the government of their common motherland. In evolving such a Constitution the Muslims are ready to co-operate with the British Government, the Congress, or any party, so that the present enmities may cease and India may take her place among the great countries of the world."

Since then, however, there has been a pronounced hardening of the Muslim attitude. Muslims were perturbed at the assent given by Sir Stafford Cripps to the proposal for a constituent assembly to draw up the post-war Constitution. Such an assembly would be predominantly Hindu, and safeguards for minorities have in practice always proved ineffective. The Muslim League has now declared openly or complete separation. It will enter no federation which would place them in a minority. The Pakistan scheme would give autonomy to 70 per cent of the Muhammadans, and the number might be increased by migration.

The question then to be faced is whether the catastrophe of a disrupted India can be solved. Plainly not by the English method of counting heads, for democratic principles, as we have learned to our cost, are only successful in a homogeneous population sharing the same fundamental religious beliefs. The latest contribution to the subject is that of Professor Coupland. His suggestions are explained in Part III of his Report on the Constitutional Problem in India, the concluding volume of a trilogy which analyzes the whole subject in the light of

previous history\*. He has also expounded his ideas in a lecture delivered to the East India Association, which appears in this number of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*

Professor Coupland begins with the Provinces. In most of the non-Congress Provinces, the coalition principle was adopted, but unfortunately without success except in the Punjab. In the rest, there was a lamentable absence of team spirit. In Sind, Assam and Bengal the Muslims showed a complete incapacity for uniting to form a stable administration. The conduct of the Hindus was only less capricious than that of the Muslims, and Governments were deprived of security and self-confidence by the lack of a steady and coherent party system. The results have been recently illustrated in a painful manner by the handling of the Bengal famine. There was a real danger of a collapse of authority for the same cause that brought about the decline of parliamentary government in Italy and France—the Legislatures were too strong and the executives too weak, this is bound to be the case where the Ministry is the target for daily irresponsible attacks by the legislative assembly and the press.

Professor Coupland thinks that Indian Provincial Governments would be more stable, and the opposition more rational and constructive, if some system could be devised whereby Ministers could be assured of retaining office for a reasonable time, and not lose it any day as a result of a hostile vote. He turns to Switzerland, a country which, with its two religious sects and three languages, presents many analogies to India. When a new Legislature is elected it chooses a new executive, no two members may belong to the same canton. The chairman and vice-chairman are re-elected every year, but the Council or executive holds office for four years, which is also the lifetime of the Legislature. The result is that the Swiss minister has become less of a party politician and more of a professional administrator, and, instead of merely carrying out a policy decided by the Legislature, he decides the policy himself. The influence of the Swiss Federal Council on the Federal Assembly is less spectacular, but more decisive, than that which the British Cabinet exercises on the House of Commons.

But the crux of the whole question in India is the Central Government. Unless the Muhammadans obtain equality at the Centre, a split is inevitable. How can this be achieved without injustice to the Hindu majority? Here Professor Coupland turns to examine the prospects of a scheme of Regionalism. Under this scheme India would be divided into four regions, two Hindu and two Muhammadan. The regional idea is not new, it is a development of Pakistan, and schemes for 'zoning' the country have already been put forward more than once. The novelty of Professor Coupland's plan lies in the fact that it is based on the great river systems of India, which play such a preponderating part in the economic life of the country. Two of these, the Indus and Delta Regions, identical with Pakistan and Bengal Assam, would be Muslim, the other two, the Ganges and Deccan Regions, which would include Hindustan and Rajputana on the one hand and the whole of India south of the Vindhya mountains on the other, would be Hindu.

An important though not indispensable feature of the scheme is the proposal that the Indian States should participate. If this were done, the problem of the 'two Indias' would be solved. As Professor Coupland points out, the interpretation of their treaties must take account of usage and sufferance and the changes of circumstance and moral ideas in the long period which has elapsed since they were signed. For the Princes in a free India to continue to rely on British paramountcy would expose them to a charge of lack of patriotism. It is the same with the minorities: their rights must be guaranteed, not by treaty, but by the Constitution.

Professor Coupland is rather vague as regards the Constitution and powers of the Region. Presumably its Constitution would be similar to that of the Provinces. There might be fixed capitals at, say, Lahore, Allahabad, Calcutta, and Hyderabad or Mysore, or the Government might be located in turn at the capitals of the major provinces, and the Governor might act as constitutional head of the Region for the

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\* *The Future of India*. Part III of the Report on the Constitutional Problem in India, submitted to the Wardens and Fellows of Nuffield College, Oxford (Oxford University Press) 6s. 6d.



year Its functions would be Regional affairs, such as industrial development, planning and tariffs The Central Government at Delhi would be very circumscribed, as most of the work at present done by it would be the function of the Regions Professor Coupland contemplates a small Central Government, again on the Swiss model, consisting of an equal number of delegates from each region, elected on a system designed to secure that all the component Provinces and States were fairly represented The Regional delegates would come to the Centre solely as agents of the Regions, with mandates from their Governments The functions of the Centre would be limited to the minimal subjects, Foreign Affairs, Defence, Finance and Communications A Supreme Court would be indispensable to act as a guardian of the new régime In his concluding chapters the author deals with the problems of the backward tribes, the Services, and financial obligations under the new Constitution When India becomes a Dominion she will have the choice of remaining in the Commonwealth or seceding It is to be hoped that she will wait and see how the partnership works before making her final choice

Professor Coupland disclaims any attempt to draft a fresh Constitution for India That is a matter for the people of the country to determine He has merely restated the factors in the light of the immense mass of material which he collected in the course of his stay in India from November, 1941, to April, 1942 We are deeply indebted to him and to the authorities of the Nuffield College for these three admirable volumes They are indispensable for the understanding of this momentous and intricate problem

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## THE PRINCES OF INDIA

By STANLEY RICE

MANY people are apt to take the map of India for granted They know, of course, that there are two Indias British India and Indian India, the one generally marked red, the other yellow, and they see that the yellow part is largely confined to Rajputana and Orissa, with three large isolated blocks—one, Kashmir, in the extreme north, a second in the centre of the country, representing the Dominions of H E H the Nizam of Hyderabad, and the third, to the south of the second, being the State of Mysore To them it seems that these three blocks, to which should be added the peninsula of Kathiawar, must always have presented much the same features In Rajputana there are several large States—Udaipur, Jodhpur, Jaipur, to name a few—but in Kathiawar there are no fewer than 193 States, all insignificant with the exception of two or three, which may be counted of second or perhaps third-rate order

Yet the States emerged, at least in their present shape, only after the great struggle of the Marathas with the British at the close of the eighteenth and in the first quarter of the nineteenth century The ordinary student of Indian history, and therefore much more the casual reader, gets a wrong impression of the Maratha power, to which, I venture to think, some historians have hardly done justice They are inclined to write, as it were, in the shadow of the great Mogul Empire, which has been so expanded by Akbar and Aurangzib that it is hardly recognizable as the empire which was founded by Babar after the overthrow of the Afghan Lodis They speak of the British as "heirs" or "successors" of this empire, as, indeed, they considered themselves, and they treat the Marathas as a mere episode But the fact is that the British

are really the heirs of the Marathas, whose exploits began round about 1650, and whose established power may be dated from the coronation of Sivaji in 1674. Thus the Marathas, who lasted till 1819, were a formidable force in India for nearly 150 years, during which time the Mogul Empire was falling rapidly to its extinction. Four Princes now remain to perpetuate the Maratha conquests, though now subject to the control of the Paramount Power—Sindhia of Gwalior, Holkar of Indore, the Maharaja of Kolhapur, who claims direct descent from Sivaji, and the Maharaja of Baroda.

We have all been taught to regard the Marathas as a race of freebooters, who dashed out of their mountain fastnesses to plunder and destroy, returning to their lairs with their booty till the next time. This idea receives some support from their famous institution of chauth and sardesh mulki, from which they derived much of their revenue to finance their military operations. But it is only half, or less than half, of the story. Sivaji was a very devout Hindu, whose main idea was the re-establishment of the Hindu religion and the general overthrow of the Mussulman power. It may be added that no people of mere freebooters could ever have created so formidable an empire without the gift of administration or organization. The chief minister was the Peshwa, sometimes referred to as a sovereign, just as Hideyoshi in Japan was often called a king, but, though both held all the power, both gave allegiance to a nominal prince, in the case of the Marathas this was the head of the clan, who held his court at Satara. Dr Thompson, in his book,\* devotes practically the whole of the first part of the second to the Marathas, and thus puts them in a proper perspective *vis-à-vis* the Mogul Empire. He bears witness that they conducted themselves even in Cossack inroads with a consideration to the inhabitants which had been deemed incompatible with that terrible and destructive species of war.

The system of subsidiary alliance, designed to give the British a certain control over the States and at the same time to weaken those States, was the work of the Marquess Wellesley. Under it the State was to accept at its own expense a trained body of British troops, which in Wellington's words were "to oppose the foreign invaders and great rebels, but are not to be the support of the little dirty amildary factions. It is, besides, very disadvantageous and unjust to the character of the British nation to make the British troops the means of carrying on all the violent and unpopular acts of their native governments, such as, for instance, the resumption of the jaghires of the Mussulman chiefs in the Soubah's (Nizam's) countries." Sir Thomas Munro was another unsparing critic. In his view, "the simple and direct mode of conquest from without is more creditable both to our armies and to our national character than that of dismemberment from within by the aid of a subsidiary force." Wellesley, however, held on his course, for his was an imperious nature which clung obstinately to his own opinion once formed and was inclined to ride rough shod over all objections. It is true that both sides reaped advantages from the system, the Company was enabled to plant picked troops in strategic positions everywhere, and so to curb any attempt at a serious rising, while at the same time it was ocular evidence of the British power in their midst. To the States themselves it was a guarantee, if not of absolute protection, at least of powerful aid against external enemies and against powerful internal rebels. But the price to be paid was the loss of independence, actual and potential. The orders or suggestions of the Governor General could not lightly be disregarded when backed by a well trained force on the spot, there would always be a lurking suspicion that the presence of the troops might lead to further intervention and eventually, perhaps, to annexation. Many of the States therefore, declined the invitation of the British spider to walk into his parlour.

Lord Wellesley, with all the cocksureness of a Curzon and an unshakable conviction that he was always right, could not, or would not, understand why the Peshwa in particular would not accept a subsidiary treaty. Dr Thompson says "There was no searching the heart of man, especially Asiatic man, it was full of deceit and desperately wicked and foolish. He [Wellesley] never caught the most fleeting glimpse of any point of view but his own, which was always pikestaff plain and crystal clear to him, so that to differ was to equivocate and to merit instant crushing." With such views, on the one hand, of the innate and consistent perfidy and wicked-

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\* *The Making of the Indian Princes* (Oxford Milford, 20s.)

ness of his opponents, and on the other of the innate and consistent rectitude of the British, diplomacy became difficult, and it is hardly to be wondered at that there was frequent recourse to armed force.

Among the first of the States to accept the subsidiary force was Baroda, which, being one of the "kingdoms" established by the Maratha power, was subject to the Peshwas at Poona. Their authority, however, became more or less shadowy, and when the subsidiary force was accepted, she broke away entirely from the Maratha confederacy and the Maharaja thenceforward went his own way. It may have been for this reason that the Maharaja obtained the title of "most favoured son of the English," which he holds even today. At any rate, the State has always been ruled by one of the Gaekwar family, and even when in 1870 it was thought necessary to depose the then Maharaja, Malhar Rao, he was replaced by an obscure scion of the same family, who lived to be the greatest of the line, the late Sayaji Rao III.

Out of the welter and tangle of Maratha politics two chieftains especially emerged. These were Sindhia and Holkar, the one with his capital at Ujjain, the other at Indore. Yeswant Rao Holkar seems to have been a genial and able rascal without much force to back him. Yet he succeeded in beating his rival at Poona, whence also he drove the Peshwa, then in alliance with Sindhia, into the sanctuary of British Indian territory at Bassein, where, at the end of 1802, he accepted a treaty admitting or compelling him into the Company's family of dependent Princes. Daulat Rao Sindhia was invited to join in the treaty, but after procrastination he declined the offer, choosing war rather than peace under such conditions. This refusal the Governor-General chose to consider rebellion upon the somewhat tortuous reasoning that, as the Peshwa had placed himself under British protection and as he was in a sense the suzerain of Sindhia, a refusal to follow his lead amounted to rebellion. Everyone, however, knew that this was really nonsense—the Peshwa had become a mere figurehead, and practically all power was now in Sindhia's hands. Wellesley was, however, determined to bring the inevitable struggle to a head and so declared war. The author clearly thinks there was a great deal to be said for Sindhia's attitude, and it is difficult to disagree. The campaign opened with the capture of Aligarh and soon after Delhi and Agra fell. In Delhi was found the blind old Mogul Emperor, now a mere shadow, but still treated with respect. Soon afterwards Lake utterly defeated the Maratha army at Laswari. In the south, at the north west tip of what is now Hyderabad State, Wellesley had fought and won the battle of Assaye. Then he pursued the Bhousla Raja into his own dominions, and the so-called battle of Argamum, which was little more than a military parade, finished the war.

Then came the making of peace. The Bhousla Raja was stripped of much of his territory, Sindhia was forced to concede the Jumna-Ganges Doab and his possessions in the Deccan, but, on the other hand, the remainder was left to him in full sovereign right independently of the Peshwa. The war had this much to commend it, that Sindhia had an evident case which was even admitted by some of the most prominent men in India, and that each side won the respect of the other. There was at least one occasion when the loyalty of the Maratha troops to their cause drew the admiration of the British Generals. Gwalior was regarded by the Marathas with a sentimental affection, and when it was taken from them under colour of the treaty there was much resentment. Nor were the Marathas alone in their dissatisfaction. Malcolm, who took a prominent part in negotiating the treaty, protested to General Wellesley that the treaty was made on the understanding that Gwalior should be left in Sindhia's hands, and that the Governor-General's insistence on its surrender touched his own honour and the national good faith. Arthur Wellesley agreed, and wrote "I would sacrifice Gwalior on every frontier to India ten times over in order to preserve our credit for scrupulous good faith and the advantage and honour we gained by the late war and the peace, and we must not fritter them away in arguments drawn from overstrained principles of the laws of nations which are not understood in this country"—and more to the same effect. "The misfortune is that, between ourselves, I think we are in the wrong." Berar had been allotted to the Nizam, and the Raja also chafed under what he thought was a breach of faith.

Yeswant Rao Holkar now stepped on the stage, which for a time at any rate had been vacated by Sindha. The Government of India had espoused the cause of Kasi Rao Holkar, who was Yeswant Rao's father's legitimate son, and therefore had claims to be his successor. But India does not base such claims rigidly on the principle of primogeniture, and Kasi Rao was imbecile both in mind and body, an infamous blackguard despised by everybody, full of prejudices, hatred and revenge, and without one adherent or even a follower. Arthur Wellesley believed that he would disgust Sindha's Government, and that, of course, was the last thing the Government wanted. At any rate, Yeswant Rao naturally objected, and "as his enterprising spirit, military character and ambitious views render the reduction of his power a desirable object with reference to the complete establishment of tranquillity in India," war had to come. Kasi Rao and his rights did not last long, though at the opening of the war they were made the stalking horse for aggression. The whole thing was disapproved by the Court of Directors for whom, it would seem, Lord Wellesley had scant respect, and the Ministers regarded the war as unjustifyable.

It opened very badly. Colonel Monson, who had been sent to drive Holkar south, entered unknown wild country and was eventually trapped. The remnants of his force fled in disorder to Agra, which they reached on August 31, 1804. Worse was to follow. Muttra was evacuated and triumphantly entered by Holkar. The victory at Dig somewhat relieved the bad news, and on January 2, 1805, Lake laid siege to Bharatpur, the Raja of which had deserted to the enemy. Lake was, however, checked here, where the Marathas had shown more skill than usual. Four separate assaults were repulsed with great loss of life, and eventually the siege became a blockade. The worst effect of their reverse was the loss of prestige. Before this could be retrieved and Holkar finally crushed, Lord Wellesley left India (August, 1805). Dr Thompson has described him as an obstinate, overbearing man, impatient of any criticism, and so wedded to his own opinions as to be quite unable to see any other point of view, even when the ablest men of the time, including his brother, disagreed with him. "I am Sir Oracle, and when I ope my mouth let no dog bark"—that was the attitude with which Dr Thompson credits Wellesley. It is true that in his summing up of Wellesley's administration some rather qualified praise is allowed—"his enthusiasm fired that of the new generation who served him gladly—and he set a new standard of service and disinterestedness." But all this falls very far short of Vincent Smith's judgment, who places him among the four greatest Governors-General, while the writer of the unsigned article in the "Encyclopædia Britannica" says "He found the East India Company a trading body, he left it an imperial power. He was an excellent administrator," etc. He was succeeded by Lord Cornwallis (for a second spell, during which he restored Gwalior to Sindha), and he again by Sir George Barlow. Holkar during this period was a fugitive, his power was completely broken. No one has much good to say of Sir George, whose administration was unimaginative and too rigidly official. Sticking closely to his official instructions from London, he abandoned Wellesley's policy of expansion and resolved to draw the line of the Company's possessions at the Jumna, thus abandoning the Rajput States, and especially Jaipur, to the tender mercies of Sindha and Holkar. Lord Minto succeeded Sir G. Barlow, who was never more than a stopgap, and in his time the great Ranjit Singh emerged into fame in the Punjab. The Company had extended a somewhat vague protection to some of the Punjab States. A mission was sent to him under Metcalfe, who succeeded in making a treaty with him. For the time, at any rate, the danger of Sikh intervention was averted. Much of Minto's time was occupied in wars outside India. Here, I think, we arrive at a weakness in the book. Much of it, in the "second part" particularly, is taken up with irrelevant, or at least only partly relevant, matter. We are treated at length to a history of the careers of Elphinstone, Metcalfe and Malcolm as though the author, who has written a Life of Metcalfe, could not resist the temptation of using material whether it bore upon his subject or not. Thus I can bestow only a cursory glance at the Gurkha war in which those hardy hillfolk inflicted a great loss of prestige on the Company, and managed to retain their independence, though they were obliged to accept a British Resident.

We must pass on to the final extinction of the Peshwa and to the years in which the British Power was finally established in India

The Governor-General was now Lord Hastings, who shares with four or five others the admiration of posterity. It will be remembered that the worthless Baji Rao had been restored to power by the British under the Treaty of Bassein. He now began to indulge dreams of restoring the old Maratha confederacy under his own leadership. But he was flogging a dead horse. The war against the Pindaris, who were irregular cavalry, fighting in the old traditional Maratha style, led eventually to the utter overthrow of the Peshwa. The latter had roused the wrath of the Indian Government by the murder of a Brahman named Gangadhar Sastrî, who had been sent under a British promise of protection by the Maharaja of Baroda to the Court of Poona in order to settle certain claims of the Peshwa against his vassal, Baroda. The man who we hold guilty of the murder was one Trimbakji, a dissolute favourite of the Peshwa, who was taken prisoner, managed to escape, was in the end recaptured, and died as a prisoner of the British. The collapse of the Peshwa was largely the work of Elphinstone, who was then Resident at Poona, and whose cool judgment not only kept the Marathas in check, but fathomed all their intrigues. When they attempted a surprise attack and even burned the Residency, Elphinstone was prepared, and the subsequent victory at Kirki was due to the precaution he had taken. Apart from the Governor-General, Lord Hastings, the three most remarkable men in India were Elphinstone, Malcolm and Metcalfe, and all rose to positions of great authority. Metcalfe acted as Governor-General for a year between Lord William Bentinck and Lord Auckland. These three men are the heroes of Dr Thompson's book, especially Metcalfe, for whom the author has nothing but praise, bordering at times on the extravagant. Of the three, however, it was Malcolm who best understood the Indian character, for it was notorious that he was always acceptable in Indian circles. It was to him, as it chanced, that the Peshwa surrendered at the close of the war which had produced no major actions, and the outcome of which was a foregone conclusion. The Pindaris had been exterminated, the Maratha Empire as an empire had vanished.

The war was over, the task of reconstruction had begun. The States emerged much as we know them now. The Rajput States—Jaipur, Jodhpur, Udaipur—were emancipated from their thralldom to the Marathas. Sindhia and Holkar were established at Gwalior and Indore. The Maharaja of Baroda, who had been faithful to the British alliance, remained in peaceful possession of his State. The Nizam, who at one time had been propped up by the British, became the leading Prince in India. The Raja of Satara, titular head of the Marathas, had disappeared. Mysore, after the death of Tipu in 1799, had been restored to its Hindu dynasty. Kolhapur had accepted British suzerainty. Had the British Government not intervened,' says Thompson, 'nothing but extinction lay before the Rajput States and disintegration before the Maratha States.'

There are States and States. It is often asserted even today that the inhabitants of the States are willing and even anxious to enjoy the greater freedom and milder yoke of British India. That may be true of some States, but of the better administered, of Hyderabad, Mysore, Travancore, Baroda and Gwalior, it is not true. The British in India have always been inclined to underestimate the loyalty of the people to their rulers. Even where the administration falls manifestly short of the British the people still prefer their own rulers.

This is a book that needed to be written, and Dr Thompson may be congratulated. If he is sometimes beguiled by the exuberance of his material, his industry in unearthing unpublished documents is worthy of our admiration.

## BROADCASTING IN INDIA

By LIEUT-COLONEL H R HARDINGE, I A (RETD)

If anything were needed to demonstrate the importance of wireless broadcasting to the world in general, surely this war has furnished that proof conclusively. Few can fail to realize the effect upon both our friends and our enemies of, for instance, the daily bulletins broadcast to the ends of the earth by the B B C in so many languages, or its great value as a means of communicating with the people in times of emergency. Now that we can look forward to a return to peace conditions at, we hope, no unduly distant date, a brief review of what already has been achieved by way of providing India with a national broadcasting service, with the particular object of discovering how best such a public service may be further developed to the greatest extent practicable in due course, may not be devoid of interest.

Until January 1, 1936, transmitters of comparatively low power had been putting out programmes of indifferent entertainment quality from stations located since 1927 at Bombay and Calcutta. That was a period of virtual stagnation. Meanwhile, however, the Indian Village Welfare Association having visualized the great potentialities of broadcasting in rural India, that Association supported a project suggested by the writer, and he proceeded to that country in the autumn of 1933 with a pioneering plan for the inauguration upon a modest scale of an experimental village broadcasting service. The Punjab was thought to be the Province in which a start would be made, but it was the Government of the North West Frontier Province who rose to the occasion and looked favourably upon the plan. How the Peshawar Rural Broadcasting Service grew out of that beginning was described in an article entitled 'Broadcasting and India's Future,' which appeared in the October, 1935, issue of this Review.

Much spadework was necessary to arouse the interest of those whose support and assistance were needed. Many difficulties and setbacks had to be overcome. Scepticism at every stage, both in this country and in India, abounded. The necessary transmitter with its studio equipment, and receivers for installation in those villages selected for the experiment, had to be found, but it was not the kind of proposition likely to invite the investment of capital. We have to thank two leading British firms for their vision and initiative in lending the essential equipment, the sole conditions being that, if found satisfactory, this equipment was to be purchased at the end of a year's trial—*i.e.*, there was no obligation whatsoever to purchase. The transmitter thus provided was all that could be desired; it was a new production of the latest type and the best quality, selected as most suitable for the project. The receivers were of special design and similar high quality, involving a very substantial production outlay on the part of the firm by whom they were supplied. Specially designed receivers were essential, and those provided met our requirements admirably, but, as was practically inevitable in the case of a novel experiment, certain shortcomings became evident later which might have wrecked the scheme but for its success from the programme angle, crude though that was in the early days.

This matter of receivers was, and still is, one of great importance. Extension of the benefits of broadcasting in rural as distinct from urban India must of necessity continue to depend almost entirely upon the village community receiver until such time as the lack of suitable and sufficiently cheap sets, rendering individual ownership in the case of the villager out of the question, has been remedied. In the towns or those as yet few-and-far-between rural areas where electric power from a public supply system is available, there is no particular obstacle to the spread of reception of the broadcast. Any of the standard makes of receiver, provided it be of a type suitable for Indian conditions, climatic and technical, and priced at a figure within the means of the public, will serve. But in the rural areas, almost without exception, a battery-operated set is essential. Since this involves the periodical replacement of the run-down battery, while means of communication and of transport would consist in

the main of cart tracks and *songas* or bullock carts, it was evident at the outset that battery servicing was going to be a major problem ' first, last and all the time '

These were the words used by the writer in the spring of 1934 in a letter from India, in which he outlined the essential features of the special type of receiver required, and he suggested that the sole source of power should be a 6-volt accumulator of the type already well known as a motor-car accessory, readily procurable, and for the recharging of which facilities existed at many centres throughout India. The greatest defect of accumulators is their weight, and it was thought that the capacity suggested would meet requirements, while being reasonably portable. But another important factor also had to be considered—that of loudspeaker output—*i.e.*, volume of sound—and it was decided that such output should be sufficient to render the programme intelligible at a considerable distance from the loudspeaker when installed in the open. This virtually meant that the equipment had to be of the 'public address' type. There were three main reasons for this decision firstly, there were no large halls or other suitable meeting places in the villages in which to install the community receivers, secondly, it was thought that larger audiences would be attracted by this means and so produce for the experiment maximum results in the minimum of time, and thirdly, it was believed that the women-folk, all strictly *purdah*, and consequently unable to leave their homes, would thus be able to listen to the programmes from the flat roof tops of their houses, where it was customary for them to sit of an evening throughout the hot season. It appeared not improbable that unless it was made possible for at least a proportion of the female population to listen in if it so desired (and it was intended to include items of interest to women in the programmes) strong opposition to the novelty of broadcasting from this ultra conservative and extremely influential quarter might jeopardize the success of the experiment.

The outcome was the adoption of a 12 volt accumulator as the power unit for the village receiver, the special design was based thereon, and in due course the equipment reached Peshawar and went into service in the manner described in the October, 1935, issue of this REVIEW, previously mentioned, and all seemed well. But as the months passed it became increasingly evident that the excessive weight and the cost of recharging the 12 volt batteries was rendering the essential battery servicing excessively troublesome and expensive. Indeed, but for the pronounced success of the programme service, that fact might have killed the scheme. However, it did not, and in April, 1936, just over a year after the opening of the service and its continuance without intermission throughout the intervening period, the entire installation including the village equipments was taken over by the Government of India as a going concern and the service carried on by the staff as by then constituted (including an Indian instrumental orchestra which had been formed) as an integral part of the Indian State Broadcasting Service. From March 1, 1939, the Peshawar station became a Relay Centre served from the Lahore broadcasting station, which had been opened on December 16, 1937, and being of a type primarily designed for use as a relay transmitter, is now rendering maximum service.

The growth of the Peshawar experiment was favourably reported by the press, and it would seem not unreasonable to assume that some at least of the growing interest in broadcasting which manifested itself in India about that time was aroused by the Peshawar service. However that may be, negotiations with the Marconi Company for the supply of a high power, medium wave broadcasting station for erection at Delhi, the first in the network of such stations since established, were initiated by the Government of India through the writer during that period. The Delhi station was opened on January 1, 1936, by which time engineering and programme experts of the BBC who came to India for the purpose had reorganized the Indian State Broadcasting Service with the fresh title of All India Radio, and up to the outbreak of war fourteen broadcasting stations (including those reconditioned at Bombay and Calcutta) had come into operation in the AIR organization, at Delhi (three transmitters), Bombay, Madras and Calcutta (each with two transmitters), Lahore, Lucknow, Dacca, Trichinopoly and Peshawar. For full particulars of these developments reference should be made to *A Report on the Progress of Broadcasting in India up to March 31, 1939* (Government of India

Press, Rs. 3 or 5). The plan fundamentally was to provide a means of covering all India for five short-wave broadcasting stations suitably located at provincial centres, while more numerous medium-wave stations of lower power cater for the varying languages, tastes and requirements of smaller areas. It will be necessary to have many more such medium-wave stations of moderate power, suitably spaced, before anything approaching the satisfactory coverage of all India according to B.B.C. standards can be achieved.

While these developments were taking place in British India, Indian India did not stand still. As was fitting, it was in the Dominions of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, the premier Indian State, that the first Indian States Broadcasting Service came into being. As in the case of the first high-power transmitter at Delhi, the writer has the satisfaction of knowing that the negotiations for the supply by the Marconi Company of a medium wave broadcasting transmitter of substantial power for Hyderabad, the first to be installed in an Indian State, and a second smaller station for Aurangabad (the latter destined to become a broadcasting centre for rural programmes) were initiated and completed by him. These services have been in operation for some time past. Since then a somewhat similar scheme has been launched in the Baroda State, while the States of Mysore and Gwalior had similar projects under consideration before war broke out, all of which had been originated by the writer. Doubtless such services will materialize and be followed by others within the territories of the Indian Princes in the course of time.

The Central Government Report, previously mentioned, records also the progress of rural broadcasting. Following closely upon the successful Peshawar experiment and largely encouraged thereby, village services came into being in the Delhi Province at Midnapore in Bengal, in the Punjab, the Bombay Presidency, Madras and elsewhere in India, including certain Indian States. In some cases the Peshawar model of receiver was adopted, in others one of modified design, produced by the newly formed Research Department of All India Radio, was introduced. This fresh design resulted from a series of experiments carried out by that department in villages in the Delhi Province, located within a convenient distance from the All India Radio research centre at Delhi, with a view to improving upon the Peshawar model of community receiver, which had so well served its original purpose, but which on extended trial under severe climatic and other service conditions had exhibited certain shortcomings, as indeed was to be expected in a receiver of novel design produced for a purpose that had never been tried out before.

The new design of community receiver had a lower output and was of inexpensive but serviceable construction, its sole source of power was a 6-volt accumulator (as originally suggested by the writer) substantially reducing maintenance costs both for recharging and transportation, a time switch was incorporated (this was the writer's suggestion), a horn, in place of the cone type of loudspeaker, used in the Peshawar experiment, was adopted, an alternative method of deriving the necessary high tension supply (by means of a vibrator in place of a rotary converter) was introduced, but this latter feature admittedly was not material. Full particulars of the new design are given in the Central Government Report previously quoted. At paragraph 91 thereof disagreement is expressed with the writer's view that roof top listening to the programmes was indulged in, and helped to popularize and forward the Peshawar scheme, but he can testify from personal observation at the time of inauguration of the services (the commencement of the hot weather season) that it was so. The All India Radio authorities did not visit Peshawar until nearly a year later, by which time much of the novelty had worn off—and, moreover, that visit was made during the cold weather when the roof tops would have been most unpleasantly chilly in the evenings, when the programmes were broadcast. As an initial experimental demonstration such as that staged at Peshawar, the writer is of opinion that the policy of loud output volume was right and served its purpose, and that such probably would be the case in regard to any fresh installation which had to be located in the open.

That the receiver problem for India is peculiar to that country (and to the East generally) is a fact that has not been sufficiently appreciated by many manufacturers of such apparatus. It is not only a case of climatic conditions necessitating com-

ponents of special tropical finish. Almost until the outbreak of war few types of receiver of British origin suitable for Indian requirements (*i.e.*, covering the medium and short wave ranges) were procurable, whereas American receivers in particular, which had been mass-produced for the home market, met every requirement except that of special finish to stand up to climatic conditions, and were commanding a ready sale throughout the country. No doubt British manufacturers have long since appreciated the position and are determined to secure their fair share of the Indian market for broadcast receivers of normal type after the war, but it is in rural India that the field is tremendous and as yet hardly tapped. That field can best be developed in the first place by the provision of community receivers on the All India Radio model in large numbers at a reasonably low price to permit of their wholesale introduction by local government or other public bodies, to be followed by the marketing in India for individual purchase by those admittedly very few individuals in a village (but it should not be overlooked that there are nearly three-quarters of a million villages in India!) who *can* afford the luxury in their homes of a reliable, but essentially cheap, battery-operated, portable receiver which will give them reasonably good reception from their local broadcasting stations. It is this latter type that is most needed. In the course of time a really popular model which met requirements might well oust the community receiver from the field and relegate it to a past in which it had served its main purpose—that of introducing broadcasting to the Indian villages—excepting on the occasion of public festivities, when it would be in great demand.

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## IRAN'S PART IN THE PRESENT WAR\*

By A. H. HAMZAVI  
(Press Attaché to the Iranian Legation in London)

In these tremendous days when the unparalleled valour of the Allies, and in particular the indomitable resolve of the British nation, so ably moulded together by her great leaders, will surely secure in the not too distant future a just and well merited victory for all the peace loving peoples of the world, and when cataclysmic events occupy the ingenious but somewhat insular minds, the sincere but preoccupied hearts of the people of this great island, some people are apt to overlook issues of secondary importance in the prosecution of this global war.

It is perhaps this natural preoccupation that has contributed essentially to the lack of sufficient knowledge and full realization in this country of the part played by Iran in the last two years in the furtherance of the Allied cause.

Iran must for ever be connected with ancient civilization, art and culture, and with the great traditions upon which the foundations of modern civilization are laid. The word "Iran," which is the Achaean Avesta, denotes the "land of the Aryans." Persia is, of course, derived from the classical Persis, which related to the province of Parsa, now known as Fars, in the south of Iran, the home of the Achamenian Dynasty. The Iranians, as the Persians call themselves, are the direct descendants of the original primitive Aryan stock from which the Indo-European races, including the English, are descended. For centuries ruled by outstanding kings of the Achamenian (550-330 B.C.), the Parthian (248 B.C.-224 A.D.) and the Sasanian (226-652 A.D.) Dynasties, the Persian Empire reached its zenith, and lastly during the Safavid period (1500-1722), when Iran's art excelled itself. Famous Greek historians, poets and writers, such as Homer and Herodotus, have chronicled the part played by Persia in the ancient history and civilization of mankind. The Persian Empire at one time

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\* An address delivered by the author at the Victoria League

stretched from the borders of India and China to Libya and the Balkans. In her memorable history Iran has, however, experienced all the vicissitudes which have befallen great countries, but one essential fact stands out, and that is the capacity of Persians of all ages to retain and reassert their main national characteristics and traditions in adverse circumstances. This is amply evidenced in the three invasions experienced by the Persians: (1) The Invasion of Alexander the Great (330 B.C.), (2) the Arab Invasion (636 A.D.), and (3) the Moghul Invasion (early thirteenth century). In these catastrophes, particularly the Moghul invasion, Persia was submitted to the massacre, pillage and annihilation of her intellectual class, as well as of the major part of her scientific, literary and philosophic treasures. For a time Alexander's rule brought with it the adoption of Hellenic forms of art, science and philosophy. The Arabs brought their own kind of worship, language, culture and way of life. It cannot, however, be denied that these events have left unmistakable traces of their influence on the Persians and their present mode of life.

Iran, covering 628,000 square miles, is a land of physical contrasts. Lying between the valleys of the Indus on the east and of the Tigris on the west rises the Iranian plateau with mountain gorges, ravines, dense forests and deserts, rivers and fertile valleys, rich oil wells and unexploited minerals. There are prehistoric remains and old cities with exquisite mosques alongside modern towns with wide boulevards, industrial centres and factories. The climate ranges from intense heat in the southern and central parts to extreme cold in the north, north-east, north-west and western provinces. The population is about 15 million. In the north the country is bounded by the Caspian Sea and the Caucasus, in the south by the warm waters of the Persian Gulf, in the west by Iraq and Turkey, and in the east by Baluchistan and Afghanistan.

To form some idea of the events that have recently taken place in Iran, it would be of more than academic interest to cast a panoramic glance over the salient points of the relevant geographical and historical background.

Ever since the Napoleonic Wars Iran has occupied a vital position in the politico-strategic policy in the East. Situated at the gateway to the East proper, she has formed one of the main pivots on which the whole strategy of the Middle and Near East turns. Moreover, Iran has for the last one hundred and fifty years acted as a protecting bastion to India.

In 1798 Napoleon, fully realizing the importance of Persia in his grand strategy of world domination and the break up of the British Empire, despatched emissaries to the Court of the Shah of Persia to pave the way for the passage of the French Army to India. In 1807, following the rapprochement between Russia and Napoleon at Tilsit and the overtures of Emperor Bonaparte to the Shah's Ambassador at Finkenstein, and the despatch of General Gardane, the French Plenipotentiary, to the Court of the Shah, the situation as regards the position of British India appeared to assume momentous importance. On October 23, 1807, *The Times*, discussing the question observed that "the passage of French troops through Persia to India was among the gigantic projects of French ambition".

#### - DISCOVERY OF OIL -

The discovery of oil in the south of Iran, in 1901, followed by the grant of an Oil Concession to D'Arcy and its exploitation by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, has considerably enhanced, since the beginning of the present century, the strategic importance of Persia and the outlet to the Persian Gulf.

#### NAZI WAR ON THE SOVIET UNION

The declaration of war by Germany on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, had profound and instantaneous effect on world strategy in general, and on the fate of the British Empire in particular. No less was its lightning effect on the situation in Iran. With Great Britain stretching across the Continent the hand of immediate friendship and alliance to the mighty Russian people, Iran overnight came into the limelight, and was even considered as the missing link in the only chain that at that time could connect Great Britain and the Allies with the Soviet Union. Up till that time the Iranian Government had tried to steer a course of strict neutrality in the

hope that Iran would not be embroiled in the conflagration, irrespective of the results that might ensue. But this was total war, and an unrelenting deluge that had readily destroyed many a small nation was fast approaching Iranian territory and the whole of the East, only to be halted by the incomparable sacrifices of British and Russian blood, shed in a life-or-death struggle and for the common cause. It was, therefore, of vital importance that Great Britain and the Soviet Union should link up, and in the light of circumstances the Iranian Government in the last week of August, 1941, abandoned its neutrality, and with His Majesty Mohammed Reza Shah Pahlavi on the throne, a new democratic and pro-Allied Government was formed by Mohammed Ali Foroughi, the veteran Persian statesman, philosopher and savant. At once negotiations were entered into by the Governments of Iran, Great Britain and the Soviet Union to meet the situation. The new Premier, Foroughi, was backed and encouraged by the virile leadership and inspiration of Iran's new monarch, H.I.M. Mohammed Reza Shah Pahlavi, who at the age of twenty two suddenly had to climb the Peacock Throne at one of the most critical moments of Iran's history and to discharge the truly gigantic responsibilities that were abruptly thrown on his resolute hands. It is to the eternal pride and gratification of the Persian nation that their august, young and democratic Sovereign did not falter, and with clear foresight and mature wisdom guided the country through the innumerable hazards besetting it, when one false step might have done irremediable damage to Iran's future welfare. It was the fusion of the innate genius of Iran's young ruler, with the vision and discernment of her old and grandest 'grand seigneur,' that guided the country's future destiny and adherence to the principles of the Atlantic Charter, and the strengthening of the bonds of friendship with Great Britain and the Soviet Union.

I feel I must digress here and give a very brief sketch of the personality of the late Foroughi, whose recent death was an irreparable loss to Iran. Here was a venerable man who had spent a lifetime in the service of his country. He was one of the erudite men of his time, a philosopher who had written many profound books on logic, philosophy and history. He had in his political career upheld the highest tradition of leadership, honesty and uprightness with full dignity and charm. He was highly revered in international circles. Above all, he was a true democrat.

Foroughi, representing the true spirit and wish of the majority of the Persian people, stretched out without any hesitation, the hand of friendship to the two great neighbours of Iran—Great Britain and the Soviet Union—and after a few months, that is on June 29, 1942, the Iranian Government and people, represented by Mohammed Ali Foroughi, approved and concluded a Tripartite Treaty of Alliance with Great Britain and the Soviet Union.

For the purpose of this talk the main items of the Treaty are:

The Preamble to the Treaty stipulates that the three Governments, having in view the principles of the Atlantic Charter and being anxious to strengthen the bonds of friendship and mutual understanding between them, have concluded a Treaty of Alliance.

The Allied Powers jointly and severally undertake to respect the territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence of Iran and to defend Iran against aggression.

The forces of the Allied Powers are to withdraw from Iranian territory not later than six months after the end of hostilities.

The Allied Powers jointly and severally undertake to respect the territorial economic existence of the Iranian people against the privations and difficulties arising as a result of the present war.

On their part, the Iranian Government undertake to place at the disposal of the Allies all means of communication throughout Iran, including railways, roads, rivers, aerodromes, ports, pipelines, and telephone, telegraph and wireless installations.

The Iranian Government undertake not to adopt in their relations with foreign countries an attitude inconsistent with the Alliance, nor to conclude treaties inconsistent with the provisions of the Treaty with Great Britain and the Soviet Union.

The Treaty of Alliance was acclaimed by the majority of the Persian people as a steadfast sign of faith and trust in the common cause which the Allies are relentlessly pursuing. It proved beyond the shadow of a doubt the friendship which Iran has

cherished for the consolidation of her relations with Great Britain and Russia on a sound and sincere basis and in solving the mutual problems that affect the three countries in equal partnership. It manifested the Persians' love for what England stands for—real freedom and the sanctity of the sacred things in life, religion, family and self-respect. It must be remembered that all this friendship and collaboration on the part of the Iranian Government and people, led by His Majesty Mohammed Reza Shah, the torch-bearer of Iran's youth and the incarnation of her future aspirations, did not manifest itself as fair-weather opportunism. It should be observed that we were in the last quarter of 1941 and early 1942, when German penetration into Russian territory was gaining fierce momentum, when the Libyan and Far East situation were most critical, and the Allied horizon and prospects looked bleak. It was at this moment that the Persian Parliament, echoing the true spirit and desire of the main section of the Persian people, ratified by 80 votes against 8 the Tripartite Pact of Alliance with the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union—that is approximately 86 per cent. for the Treaty, 8 per cent. against, and a very small percentage who did not vote. As far as the grand strategy of war was concerned, this may have appeared a matter of secondary importance, but in so far as the 15 million people of Iran are concerned, this rather unobtrusive but decided resolve on their part to throw in their lot with the Allied cause will, I am sure, contribute tremendously to (1) the strengthening and consolidation of the true independence and sovereignty of Iran as declared by the Allied Powers on many occasions, (2) it will secure for Iran the right place at the Peace Conference so justly due to her, and (3) it will lead, more than any other factor, to the amelioration of Iran's post war relations with the Allied Powers, in particular with Great Britain.

The contention of some circles who have, since September, 1941, tried vainly to disturb the clear waters of Irano-Anglo-Soviet relations by casting suspicion and doubt on the sincerity of the Persians towards the Allied Powers, is a distortion of facts, neither borne out by the situation prevailing in Iran at the time of the conclusion of the Tripartite Treaty, nor by the trend of events ever since. There is, in fact, abundant proof to the contrary. To start with, the late Foroughi's unblemished career has unquestionably placed him in the records of true Iranian patriots, and even his worst enemies could not accuse him of acting against the wishes of the majority of the people of Iran or of taking up a cause detrimental to the best interests of the country. Moreover, the Iranian authorities and people in the last two years have wholeheartedly collaborated with the Allied Powers in Iran, in fact, they have done more than their share in what was undertaken in the Treaty of Alliance.

The natural condition of Iran's vast spaces enveloped by rugged mountains, dense forests, etc., renders it ideal for sabotage. The immense oil refineries in the south of Iran, the pipeline extending over hundreds of miles of territory, the 808 mile Trans-Iranian Railway stretching across Iran to the Caspian Sea, the hundreds of vital bridges, tunnels, depots, the immense quantity of Lend Lease material passing through a thousand miles of Iranian territory, etc., thinly populated and unguarded, all these and many other important installations would have been ideal and easy targets for sabotage by the alleged mass of Persians predominantly against the Allies. Instead, there has been nothing but traditional Persian hospitality for the Allies and collaboration in every respect. But perhaps we are attaching some significance to a line of vile propaganda which has been falling on deaf ears.

#### IRAN'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE ALLIED CAUSE

The first step in Iran's collaboration with the Allied Powers was the severance of diplomatic relations with the German and Italian Governments and the expulsion of their nationals from Iranian territory in the last quarter of 1941. Later on, similar steps were taken on April 12, 1942, towards the Japanese Government. Thus Iran completely cut herself off from any contact with the Axis Powers.

From early 1942, when the machinery of Iran's collaboration with the Allied Powers got under way and started functioning, until the last quarter of this year, an unprecedented era of co-partnership between Iran and her powerful Allies has existed. Nevertheless, the position of Iran *vis-à-vis* the Allies and the world political situation was somewhat anomalous, in order to rectify this and be in a

position to render still more aid to the common cause, Iran declared war on September 9, 1943, on Germany and notified her adherence to the Declaration of the United Nations. *The Times* on September 15, 1943, in a leading article commenting on 'Persia as a Belligerent,' described clearly Iran's position by observing that "the anomaly has now been removed and Persia takes the place which is rightfully hers, now and hereafter, in the ranks of the United Nations."

Iran's main contributions to the war effort are

- 1 Her strategic position
- 2 Transport
- 3 Oil
- 4 Use of capital installations
- 5 Food
- 6 Supply of Iranian currency

(1) *Strategy*—We have referred to the importance of Iran in the strategy of the Middle and Near East. Considering the situation in 1942, when the gallant Russian Army were stubbornly defending the suburbs of Moscow and the toothills of the Caucasus, and when the grand Eighth Army were galvanizing the whole world by defeating the Africa Korps, Iran formed the only safe back door through which vital war supplies could be rushed to Russia, as well as the secure flank of all the Allies in the Middle East, to which must be added the undisputed strategic defence of India and the Far East. A mere glance at the map would show the advantages accruing to the Allies consequent on Iran's alignment and friendship with them, and through which territory the British and American Governments could carry on undisturbed their splendid work of getting Lease-Lend materials through to the Soviet Union. The regular flow of millions of tons of precious oil which fed the British and Allied forces east of Gibraltar was now more than ever assured.

(2) *Transport*—The significance of the Persian route to the Soviet Union has been the fact that it was and still is the only safe all weather route to Russia. Whilst American ships have had to detour West Africa and the Cape of Good Hope and by a 20,000 mile voyage reach the Persian Gulf, and the British ships had to do almost half this mileage, and finally, by nearly a 1,000-mile trek on the Trans Iranian Railway, or by road, reach the back door of the Russian front, yet it must be remembered that this has been the only route immune—so far as war immunities go—from Axis submarines and aerial attacks, to this must be added the all-essential factor that the Persian route functions in all four seasons of the year.

Some sixteen years ago the Iranian Government put into operation an ambitious scheme of constructing a railway right through the heart of Iran, connecting Bandar Shahpour on the Persian Gulf with Bandar Shah on the Caspian Sea, a distance of 808 miles. Those familiar with the physical conditions in Iran realize the immensity and the huge difficulties facing the construction of a railway right through the uplands of Iran. The ruling gradient for most of the southern section, Persian Gulf to Tehran, is 1 in 67. The passage through the Khuzistan and Luristan mountains involved the most difficult work on the whole railway. There were deep gorges, some 300 feet in depth, through which turbulent rivers, sometimes with a depth of 30 feet, ran. A number of viaducts had to be constructed in this section, one has a length of 427 feet and height of 82 feet. Many tunnels had also to be constructed. Of two 10-mile sections, 41 per cent of the first consists of tunnels, of which there are 18, with an aggregate length of 7,945 yards, and no less than half the second section, with 20 tunnels, totalling in length 9,111 yards.

The northern section from Tehran to the Caspian Sea is the shorter and somewhat easier from the constructional point of view, although the gradients are steeper and reach a maximum of 1 in 36 on the northern slopes of the Elburz mountains, which climb up to 7,000 feet. Spiral curves of 656 feet radius, many of them in tunnels up to a mile in length, have had to be constructed. At the pass near Gaduk, leading to the inner Iranian plateau, a tunnel two miles long pierces the mountain.

In the space of just over ten years, that is in 1938, the Trans-Iranian Railway was completed, and for the first time the north and south of Iran were connected.

up by a modern railway. It had cost Iran altogether about £40 million. To get an idea of what £40 million means to a nation whose basic industry is agriculture and who is therefore not at all wealthy, it should be observed that the construction of the Trans-Iranian Railway started at a time when the total annual budget of Iran was about £3,000,000, and that in the ten years under discussion (that is, 1928-1938) the annual budget rose to its peak of about £30,000,000. It is therefore natural to assume that a great part of the wealth of the whole of the Persian nation has been invested and sunk in the Trans-Iranian Railway. I doubt if the authors of this gigantic scheme had any preconceived notions as to its vital significance in a global war, and the specific aid it would be rendering to the Allied Powers. The Persian nation are fully cognizant of the part their railway has been playing in getting Lease-Lend materials to the U.S.S.R. and in helping to prevent the spread of the horrors of war to their territory, they are happy to have been of such singular service to the British, American and Russian people.

A similar story can be related in connection with the network of roads and high ways of Iran, which have formed a second link in the transport problem of the colossal Lease Lend material going through Iran to Russia. Thousands of miles of good, serviceable roads are in use day and night by British and American trucks carrying Lease-Lend supplies.

But let it be recorded that the advantages accrued from this arrangement have not all been on one side. The Trans-Iranian Railway and the innumerable roads of Iran were constructed to serve the internal purposes of the country and not for the gigantic tasks of transporting millions of tons of war materials to the Soviet Union. The Allies, with all the prevailing difficulties of shipping and man power, have had to construct, extend and develop ports, railways, highways, depots and warehouses all over Iran. The size of this task will be realized when it is pointed out that all the materials used in these constructions and developments to the smallest item have had to be imported from Great Britain and the U.S.A. After the termination of hostilities, when all these considerable extensions and construction works effected by the Allies are handed over to the Iranian Government, there is no doubt that the whole transport system of Iran will be revolutionized, in fact, at some points the developments effected by the Allies to meet the exigencies of war have been on such a vast scale that they are sure to exceed the internal requirements of Iran after the war.

The Iranian Government, realizing the importance of Lease Lend materials reaching the Soviet Union on the largest possible scale and in the most expeditious manner, have, since early 1942, totally sacrificing the internal requirements and the vital transport needs of Iran, placed at the disposal of the Allied Powers the whole system of road and railway facilities. Thousands of waggons and trucks which normally served to feed the Persian people have been utilized for this purpose. Naturally, for a time last year food shortages were experienced in certain parts of Iran, especially when the abundant products of the fertile regions of the north could not reach the central and other parts of the country. It must, however, be stated that when the food situation became acute the Allies manifested active goodwill and sympathetic understanding towards the hardships which the Persian people have experienced during the last two years consequent to the war situation in general. The British Government, in spite of limited shipping space, have imported into Iran thousands of tons of wheat, and have accorded other aids and facilities to alleviate the rather difficult situation. In view of the many essential calls on limited shipping space at the disposal of the British Government and the urgency of getting war supplies through to Russia, the difficulties have been inevitable, and at times with all the goodwill of the parties concerned, the ultimate results have been somewhat hampered, but the efforts made in the past two years are steadily improving the situation.

(3) *Oil*.—It seems superfluous to try to gauge the important part that Persian oil has played in the furtherance of the common cause. The Persian oilfields in the south of Iran, the fourth biggest oil producing regions in the world, which produced over 10,000,000 tons of oil before the war, have supplied the necessary oil and fuel for British and American forces in nearly all the Middle and Near East and

India, and even as far as China. The gigantic refineries at Abadan on the Persian Gulf and the oil-wells in the Gulf regions have been admirably exploited and administered by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, who have, within a period of forty years, turned the vast arid parts in the regions of the oil-wells into highly organized industrial and technical centres, with all the modern amenities of life. The company, which holds a concession from the Iranian Government to operate oil-wells 100,000 square miles in the territories approximately south of a straight line from Sulaimanieh in the west of Iran, touching Kermanshah, Khoramabad, Saidabad, Bampur and Irafshan in Iranian Baluchistan in the south-east of Iran up to the year 1993, have always maintained amicable relations with the Iranian Government, who have in turn provided all facilities for the fulfilment of their great task. It is of particular interest that only recently the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, meeting the wishes of the Iranian Government, reached a new Royalty Agreement with Iran, under which payments will not fluctuate but will be limited to a minimum annual sum of £4 million for the duration of war in Europe. The Iranian Government were most appreciative of this friendly gesture coming at a particularly critical juncture when Iran's financial and economic situation is beset with innumerable difficulties. The Persian Press, reflecting the feelings of the people, hailed the new agreement, and "the timely help in view of the current budget deficit." This was considered an effective help towards the strengthening of the relations between Iran and Great Britain as well as with the Oil Company.

(4) *The Use of Capital Installations* in Iran has been of the utmost service to the Allied Powers. These range from aerodromes, army barracks, telegraph service, warehouses, to factories which have been producing many kinds of goods, small arms and aircraft parts for the Allies, in spite of the fact that all these installations are essentially needed for the internal requirements of Iran.

(5) Food has been another important item in Iran's contribution to the war effort. A good deal of the surplus grain, rice, cattle, etc., of the fertile northern, north-eastern and north-western provinces of Iran, which normally feed the rest of the country, have been exported to the Soviet Union. The Soviet Government, on their part, have reciprocated these gestures of goodwill and friendship and in the critical food situation of last year sent some thousands of tons of wheat to Iran. Many thousands of Polish refugees who had to leave Russia have been fed from the meagre stocks in the country, and this, combined with the inevitable difficulties of transport and distribution, has caused a good deal of suffering to the mass of the Persian people. However, with the new organization set on foot by the Iranian Government and the new group of American advisers, headed by that most able administrator of Persian finances, Dr Millspaugh, in conjunction with the active help and co-operation of the British and American Governments, it is hoped that in so far as food and price difficulties in Iran are concerned, the corner has been turned and the situation will be steadily relieved.

(6) Special arrangements have been made between the Iranian Government and the Allied Powers to meet the colossal expenditure of the British, American and Soviet forces in Iran, which runs into millions of pounds. Here again many natural difficulties arose, and it was feared that owing to the colossal expenditure of the Allies in Iran inflation would swamp the country. Strict measures have been taken by the Iranian Government to stop prices rising any higher, and effective assistance has been rendered by the British and American Governments in importing gold to the country and selling it to the public in order to stabilize the currency and to allay their fears of inflation. The rise of prices has now stopped, but in order to realize the privations endured by the majority of the people in Iran, it is sufficient to mention that the cost of living in Iran now, as compared with that of 1939, is up by nearly 700 per cent. This figure, compared with the rise of the cost of living in all other countries of the world, makes Iran the most expensive place to live in today.

Let it not be assumed that the people of Iran are reckoning the part they have played in the common cause and the assistance they have given to the Allied Powers in the furtherance of their exalted aims in £ sterling and dollars.

The brief indications given here must only be considered and measured as a yard stick of the good faith and sincere friendship of Iran towards the Allied Powers,

and in particular towards Great Britain, with whom the Iranian Government have maintained diplomatic and friendly relations steadfastly for the last 150 years, in spite of some adverse circumstances.

The people of Iran, having full confidence in the unshakable resolve of the United Nations to respect the sanctity of the complete independence and sovereignty of small nations, joined their ranks with open arms and joyful hearts, not only because of the double assurance that their independence and established rights would not in any shape or form be tampered with, but more so with the conviction that they were joining a just and righteous cause.

Iran's only desire is close friendship and cordiality with all the peace loving democratic nations of the world, and in particular with her powerful neighbours, Great Britain and the Soviet Union. Her people feel certain that in the post-war period, when every nation, big and small, will be licking its wounds, the hardships which the Persians are bearing with traditional tolerance and grace will secure for them their rightful place in the Council of Nations, and their true independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, as envisaged in the Tripartite Treaty of Alliance, will be fully respected, and that they will be assisted by the great democratic Government and people of Great Britain to repair the numerous places in their economic and financial structures which have suffered in this war, and to meet their urgent requirements.

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## A SUMMER HOLIDAY IN TURKEY IN 1942

(Continued)

By F. L. BILLOWS

### III TREBIZOND

TREBIZOND, or Trabzon as it is in Turkish, like the names of many other towns in Turkey, is a corruption of a Greek word—the word for a table. This is said to be because the first old town was built on a narrow slab between two ravines that faintly resembled a table tilted towards the sea, and not because of the much more prominent flat topped hill that overhangs the town to the eastward, now called Boz Tepe or Dun Hill. It must have been this dun-coloured, flat topped hill that I had seen as we approached Trebizond, looking golden in the evening light. It is difficult to believe that this much more prominent feature was not responsible for the name, but that is the authoritative conclusion. The town is quite a large one, but it has shrunk rather than grown in the last twenty years. Before that time it was predominantly a Christian town with many Greek and Armenian churches, now most of these churches are store houses or roofless. Instead of a population of 65,000 it now has a population of 35,000, the town has lost its commercial class, and with that much of its prosperity. The large, dignified town houses of the Greek merchants and their summer country houses on the slopes of the hills behind have been turned into slums by their slatternly occupants, and some have remained unoccupied to fall into ruin. Most of the modern town is built on the slopes between the ancient Byzantine town on its ravine bound tongue of land and the massive, grizzled Boztepe. Of the Byzantine town, the walls are nearly intact along most of their length, rising 20 or 30 feet from the cliffted sides of the ravines, and the shell of the former imperial palace, with its tall, pointed windows and a huge square tower to defend the narrow saddle towards the hills on the landward side, marks their culmination. The ruins of the other buildings have mostly been used as quarries for the building of the succeeding cities, but the two chief churches of "The Golden Headed Virgin" inside and of "St Eugenius" outside the city, facing the palace across the eastern ravine, have been turned into mosques and so preserved. St. Eugenius is still in the country, as it stands above the town, and its whitewashed circular lantern roofed with a shallow cone of brown tiles and its minaret with crown-shaped top stand very gracefully.

among the trees. Probably the emperors and their retinues, winding down into the ravine on their way to thank God and St Eugenius for one of their fluky victories, saw practically the same scene except for the minaret.

As the ancient city grew larger, the walls were continued down to the sea to enclose the land between the original slab—still faced with a high wall on the seaward side—and the sea, the ravines have opened out by now, and this section of the town is quite flat with the coast, the ruins of a semicircular mole which protected the former anchorage give it the name of "Molos". The last Vali (Governor) decided to make his mark on the town by pulling down the most picturesque and well-preserved section of the wall by the sea—including an attractive gate and several characteristic Byzantine towers—and constructing a "pilaj" and "gazino," both of which have remained practically unused since they were finished in the spring, though the crash-landing of a German aeroplane under the terrace of the gazino brought a spate of custom, as long as the wreck was a novelty, at the beginning of our stay. We occasionally used to seek conviviality by an evening visit to the gazino terrace to drink coffee or the local mineral water, but the only amusement was the sight of the women of the town bathing from the beach nearby under cover of darkness and long cotton shifts.

Just to the east of Molos, across the brook, which for its last 200 yards is black and stinking, lies the bazaar section of the town, shoe makers, potters, metal workers and shopkeepers sit and work or gossip in the mouths of their single roomed, open fronted shops, the streets are narrow and uneven, only pack animals or men can carry goods along them, in one place vines have been trained over the street to give a pleasant shade for about 20 yards. I liked to sit in one of the small coffee-shops on a low stool and sip the sweet, gritty Turkish coffee, discussing the turn of the news or the weather with the proprietor and his customers and watch the town go about its business. About midday the men go to the large, many tapped fountains outside the mosques and go through their ceremonial washings before going into the mosque to pray. One day I was sitting in a coffee house beside a mosque sheltering from a heavy downpour of rain at prayer time, the worshippers took off their shoes as usual and washed their feet at the taps while the rain pattered into their vacant shos, then they hobbled over to the mosque, splashing through the mud with their shoes half on, and I couldn't help wondering if the Prophet had intended to put his followers to such discomfort. Probably as he sat in his burning desert thinking up his rules of religious hygiene he thought he was bequeathing them a treat rather than a penance. Many people go through their ablutions in the mouths of their shops with little fine spouted watering-cans.

The more modern part of the town, with its fairly good shops, with the foreign Consulates and the offices of hazel nut and tobacco merchants, lies farther east on the steep hill behind the harbour, which is protected by a small point. A small stone breakwater has been built to increase the protection given by the point, but no serious attempt has been made to build a proper harbour since the Russian occupation in 1917. The stone mole they built has been allowed to fall into ruin, and the railway lines that traversed it have been rooted up and used as the bases of telegraph posts. The opposition of the lightermen to an improvement that threatened their way of life is said to be the reason for this, the wooden superstructure was burned, possibly by accident, but that the fire was not put out before it had done much damage is attributed to the lightermen. A steep hill leads up from the port under the massive stone walls of a fort that occupies the point beside the harbour, one comes out on the level shoulder of the hill into a neat cobbled square surrounded by attractive old plaster fronted houses, a fire-station and a mosque screened by a block of houses, with an ornate white plaster entrance arch leading under the block. One side opens on to a much larger open space occupied by a garden full of trees and mushroom sun-shades and café tables. The square is the centre of the life of the present-day town.

The Consulate was about 100 feet higher up the hillside towards Boztepe up an extremely rough and steep hill of ancient and uneven cobbles that in many places were missing altogether, leaving huge gaps into which the wheels of the usually heavily overloaded carts crashed and wedged tight.

Most hills seem to get easier and shorter as one gets used to them, but this one

never did, it was always an interminable grind, and the whitewashed Consulate—away up to the left over a waste patch grazed down to almost nothing by a perpetual rotation of sheep, goats and cows—seemed malignantly unattainable, one went down to the sea to bathe and get cool, and then sweated up this hill into the same state as before. The view of the Consulate across the grass as one paused to cool off was a very pleasant one, dazzling white against the sombre background of Boztepe, mature and dignified with wide eaves as if shading the eyes to look steadfastly out to sea, over a large vine-covered terrace and a steep garden, in which a huge black cypress and a yarded and gaffed white flagstaff stood sentry, it held the eye.

The two essentials of the Trebizond landscape, its greenness and its hilliness, have to be paid for in rain and heavy cloud. In summer, close and steamy weather followed by two- or three-day bouts of heavy rain is the rule. After the rain it is often distinctly cold, even in July and August, and we found it necessary to change out of linen suits and cotton dresses into tweeds and sweaters, country walks in stout shoes and raincoats—the stand by of a summer holiday at home—had to take the place of bathing, and sometimes we were almost deceived into thinking we were having our summer holiday in West Wales. Fortunately the variety of contour and abundance of rainfall give a wide variety of walks, valleys with towering sides and dashing streams, hills with winding footpaths, woods, forests, crags and mountains. A scramble to the top of Boztepe in a quarter of an hour tested wind and heart, and rewarded one with good level walking on downland turf and magnificent views of sea and mountains. We often went up there to see the sunset, and there was a friendly farmer on the crest who always welcomed us with coffee and baskets of hazel nuts to take home, and we would sit on a bench in front of his cottage talking as we watched the sun go down. His son was a well-educated young man, fair-haired and ruddy from harvesting, a student in the magnificent new lycée on the other side of the town, his daughter was a teacher in the primary school.

Another walk was up behind the Consulate into the valley which became, near the former church of St Eugenius, the eastward protecting ravine of the old town. This was deep and sheltered, the stony track up it was fairly level. In the morning one passed a continual succession of pack animals and women toiling along under heavy burdens, but in the early evening it was often empty, an occasional well-built stone bridge which had lost its parapet and its original road surface showed that it had once been a good road but long neglect had ruined it. If one crossed one of these bridges after about a mile and ascended the other side of the valley, back towards the town, one came out above the ruins of the royal palace, somewhere near the ancient hippodrome and theatre, then one could either walk on across the neck into the next ravine and up it for half a mile or so, then across it as with the other, and down its farther side, or one could go straight down through the old town, both routes gave extensive and picturesque views of the old town and its hoary walls from every angle. We always paused on the high bridges that crossed the two ravines into the centre of the old town and leant on the balustrade for a few minutes to look down on to the rich growth of fruit trees and vegetables on the fecund sheltered valley floor some 30 or 40 feet below, and up at the massive walls and clustered timbered white plastered houses above them. A more level walk we liked to take was through the old town, over the two bridges and on along the coast road, past the fine new lycée and huge new hospital to a former monastery, now a mosque, named Aya Sofya, standing on a terrace above the sea about a mile outside the town. The church, part store-house, part mosque, is structurally well preserved, though neglected, the frescoes have been defaced, but enough remains to show that they were interesting and even beautiful in their day, a large bell tower stands near the church. This is a fairly level walk among many hilly ones, and gives good views of a steep and well wooded coastline towards Cape Yoros.

All the women we passed on these walks drew their shawl like head-cloths over their faces, leaving only a crack for one eye to look out, and even the women in the town, in the poorer parts, covered the lower parts of their faces or caught a corner of the cloth in their teeth. In all the outlying suburbs and in the villages, children would pelt us with stones and mud, lying in ambush behind hedges and walls or running after us as near as they dared. We got quite skilful in throwing stones back.

at them and would approach all corners tactfully, so as to surprise liers-in-wait. Sometimes they would spit in our direction and say "Giaour!" But grown-ups usually drove them off or reproved them if they saw them pestering us, the grown ups were usually shy and suspicious, but not often hostile. Occasionally our return ing of stones developed into quite a jolly, good humoured battle, and once when I spoke to the leader of a gang of children who had been jeering at us and asked him the way, explaining that I was an Englishman, he was very polite and friendly, and a party of them came a little way with us to show us the way. I believe they were sometimes hostile because they thought we were Germans. The proprietor of the bathing tents on the beach where we usually bathed was a boy of about twelve or thirteen with a remarkably mature character. A team of boys of his own age helped him by putting the canvas over the wooden frames and running to get water to wash the bathers feet while they were dressing, he controlled them with a quiet authority that was a pleasure to see, and was quickly summoned to intervene if a fight developed. He seemed able to settle the most violent quarrels pleasantly. Apparently his father died about a year ago, leaving him and his mother and smaller brothers with the business, the mother makes coffee in a wooden hut, and they maintain chairs and tables on terraces in the cliff above the beach. Unfortunately, the sand of the beach is dark grey and shingly, and it lies just beneath the fort mentioned above, so that all the fort's refuse is tipped into the sea just beside the high diving board. On many days bathing was impossible owing to the quantity and variety of the refuse that covered the surface of the sea in an undulating and repul sive mat. One of the best ways of practising one's Turkish was to go and sit on the beach and talk to these boys, in this way we got to know quite a lot of boys and young men and a number of school teachers. I think swimming hasn't long been a popular pastime and the standard wasn't high, but they were keen to learn. I gave some demonstrations of rowing too.

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## AN ADVENTURE IN TEXTUAL CRITICISM

By MAS'UUD E FARZAA'D

HAAFEZ,\* the writer of the world famous Persian sonnets,† remains unknown, be cause the laboratory work on his original Persian text has not yet been begun.

He was an almost exact contemporary of Chaucer, for the writing life of both of them fell within the second half of the fourteenth century. But whereas Chaucer was the first of the major English poets, Hââfez was the last of the Persian poets of the first magnitude, so that the sun of high poetry can be said to have set in Persia and risen in England at precisely the same time. Hââfez is, in more senses than one, the greatest of all Persian poets. For one thing, the sonnet is the most advanced and the best developed of all Persian poetic forms, and the charming magic of Hââfez sonnets remains unequalled by the poetry (in whatever form) of any other Persian poet.

\* The name of this poet has been spelt in several ways in English, Hââfidh, Hafiz and Hafez being among them. As pronounced by the Persians, the consonants are in order, *h*, *f* and *z*, and the vowel sounds correspond respectively to those of *a* and *e* in the English word *father*. The accent, however, is in the Persian language, on the second syllable of the name.

For reasons beyond the scope of the present article, I maintain that (1) the letter-sign standing for the vowel sound of *a* in *can* should be distinctly different from that representing the vowel-sound of *a* in *car*. The sign *â* for the latter, as adopted above, is merely a provisional one. (2) In the Persian language, at least, the adje-

Ever since 1680, when the first translation of him\* appeared in Europe, the Western world has been almost ceaselessly endeavouring to approach him more and more. He has been translated into all the main, and dozens of the minor languages. The number of English translations alone (more than one of which appeared before the French Revolution) exceeds thirty. Many of the greatest minds of the East as well as of the West (Goethe among others) have paid him homage. One may be sure that the world will not rest until it gets an English translation of Hââfez comparable in excellence to FitzGerald's rendering of Khayyám.

Without exception all the English (as well as other) translations of Hââfez are either poor or partial†. In many cases they suffer from both defects. The translators, however, are not to blame. Indeed, considering the seriousness of their handicaps, I feel inclined to bow to them in respectful admiration for their remarkable achievement. And yet the undeniable fact is that what has been done in this field is an insignificant fraction of what remains to be done.

The Persian text of Hââfez is (and to all practical intents and purposes has always been) brimful of mistakes, and it goes without saying that before a trustworthy text of Hââfez becomes available, no translation or critique of him can be expected to be really satisfactory. The first thing to do for Hââfez, then, seems, obviously enough, to be to purge his Persian text. The task is a lengthy and complicated one, far more lengthy and much more complicated than appears at first

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tives 'short' and 'long' as applied to vowels are misleading, and 'single' and 'double,' respectively, are scientifically more correct. For the sake of further precision, I may add that by "double" I here mean pronounced twice in immediate succession'. It follows inevitably that all 'double' vowels should be 'written twice in immediate succession'. (3) The pronunciation of a letter is not changed at all when it is spelt as a capital. In other words, a capitalization of a letter represents no phonetic reality. Therefore, its use should be discontinued in proper as well as in common names.

Thus, haafez is the nearest we can arrive at to the correct spelling of the name of this poet in English script, until such time as a more fitting sign than à is adopted for the vowel sound in question. The capital in Haafez is a concession to convention.

† (a) The word "ghazal" means simply a sonnet. Its use in English tends to mystify the general reader and I hope will be discouraged. It is true that the Persian sonnet differs from the English sonnet in certain technical details, such as the possible number of the lines and the system of rhyming. Nevertheless, this does not justify to my mind the use of an unnecessary and even misleading word in English.

The Persian sonnet has sometimes been translated as "ode" in English, but the *ode* is in English the exact counterpart of the *qasida* in Persian, and should be used correspondingly.

(b) Hââfez was first and foremost a sonnet-writer. He, like every other very great poet or writer, mastered a single form of composition, and wrote mainly in that vehicle. What the sonnet is to Hââfez the five-act play is to Shakespeare, the essay is to Lamb, the quatrain to Khayyám and FitzGerald. Again, like all such writers, Hââfez occasionally wrote in other forms. In the present article, for the sake of convenience and simplicity, I have referred to all the poems of Hââfez as sonnets, but the reader is requested to bear in mind that Hââfez wrote also a number of odes (*qasides*), quatrains (*robâis*), fragments (*qat'es*) and poems in the form of rhyming couplets (*masnavis*). These miscellaneous poems, however, although of very great literary importance, collectively represent in size less than one fifth of his collected poems.

\* Into Latin, by Meninski.

† By far the greatest number of translations have dealt with not more than one-tenth of the poems of Hââfez. Not one of the translations of all his poems is critically of even mediocre value. Without a single exception the translators have referred to the impossibility of accurate translation. Too few of them, however, are adequately aware to what a large extent their difficulties are due to a corrupt Persian text.

glance One essential is that the task should be approached in a spirit of scientific research, not of commercialism This is a quest of the truth for truth's sake, and not for the sake of quick financial return or immediate public recognition either inside or outside Persia High office, vast wealth, or great learning in subjects (even Persian literary subjects) not pertinent to the one in hand, are of no avail The most fundamental qualifications of the person who intends to tackle the task are scientific competence and a scientific temperament In other words, he must be able to think deeply in a methodical as well as an original manner, and should furthermore be endowed with well nigh infinite patience

I am convinced that the laboratory work on the text of Hââfez has not yet been begun, and since the true text of not a single one of his sonnets has been preserved anywhere, nothing but such laboratory work can help us to reach the true Hââfez All the manuscript or printed texts suffer from the following major categories of mistakes

- 1 Omitting a number of authentic sonnets
- 2 Including a number of spurious sonnets
- 3 Giving wrong words in the text of many authentic distichs \*
- 4 Adding spurious distichs to many of the authentic sonnets
- 5 Omitting authentic distichs from many of the authentic sonnets
- 6 Giving a wrong order of the distichs in all the authentic sonnets
- 7 Giving as one poem several totally different and independent poems, badly mixed together †
- 8 Failing to give the sonnets in the order in which Haafez wrote them

I submit that this by no means exhausts the list of the problems the would be textual critic of Hââfez has to face Further research may reveal other textual problems In any case, each of the present problems requires its own peculiar method of solution The prospect may look grave, but more than a decade of continual endeavour to purge the Hââfez text has convinced me that we can be hopeful on all the main points

The work should, however, be done in such a manner as to be open in every detail to inspection and verification at any time No man's judgment upon any point concerning Haafez can be taken for granted even if he happens to be right Furthermore, new material may, and probably will subsequently become available, and the work should be so arranged as to allow this new material to be added in its proper place without doubt or delay, and to receive due critical treatment, so that the resulting modification of the text (if any) may be effected in due course

One other fundamental point is that no scientific research work, while still in its laboratory phase, belongs to the general public The work should be allowed to go on as scientific method dictates, and the result published for what it is worth Even then the general public (which can never be hustled profitably, if at all) should not be expected to appreciate it immediately, but should be allowed to take its own time to get acquainted with the new facts, or, if this should turn out to be the case, with the old facts presented in a new fashion

It seems to me that the critical work on the texts of Hââfez (or, for that matter, any Persian poet) may be divided into two quite separate stages

- (a) The collection and the classification of the material
- (b) The sifting of the material thus collected, in order to separate the wheat from the chaff

My estimate is that this work involves the writing of a book of not less than four

\* The authentic poems of Hââfez come to about four thousand and five hundred distichs (or couplets, called in Persian *beyts*) Out of these, some two hundred have remained immune from all corruption

† This occurs almost exclusively in the case of the masnaviis of Hââfez, which are extremely important, and of which there are two main groups

- (a) The *ââhuu ye wahshu* group, written to the metre  $\text{u} - \text{u} - \text{u} - \text{u} - \text{u} - \text{u}$ , and
- (b) The *sââqu nââme* group, written to the metre  $\text{u} - \text{u} - \text{u} - \text{u} - \text{u} - \text{u}$

thousand large pages, but that the results will more than justify the pains. The purified Hââfez will be so very different from, and better than, the present one that he can without undue exaggeration be considered to be altogether another poet. Our whole conception of his mind, his art, and even his life-history will be fundamentally changed, and the world will be permanently enriched by at least four hundred and fifty of the profoundest, sweetest sonnets written by man. I have the impression that upon the publication of an adequate translation of the true Hââfez the world will realize that the sonnets of Hââfez are definitely more charming than the odes of Horace.

To return to the details of the practical question, the very first task of the textual critic to Hââfez is to compile a complete variorum edition of his writings. Those who recall that it took Dr. Howard Furness forty-three years to compile a variorum edition of Shakespeare may be liable to lose hope, but there is really no cause for alarm. Hââfez is a much smaller book, and one year is by no means too long for the compilation of the complete variorum edition of his works.

Another very simple but important point to bear in mind is that the Hââfez text is composed of a number of sonnets, each sonnet is composed of a number of distichs, and, lastly, each distich is composed of a number of words. The compiler has thus to deal with three different units of poetic speech—the sonnet, the distich and the word. Consequently, what he has to compile is

- 1 All the sonnets attributed to Hââfez
- 2 All the distichs attributed to each sonnet, and
- 3 All the variants attributed to each distich

But compilation is not all. He should devise a system of signs to show which of his sources contained (and, therefore, which of them did not)

- (a) Every one of the sonnets attributed to Hââfez
- (b) Every one of the distichs attributed to each sonnet, and
- (c) Every one of the variants attributed to each distich

Furthermore, as this is primarily and almost exclusively a handbook for the specialists who want to continue the critical work on the text of Haafez, the variants, for one thing, should be so arranged that the student may see at a glance

(a) Whether there are any variants for any particular part of the text attributed to Hââfez, and

- (b) If so, how many, and what they are

Therefore it seems imperative to me that the variants should be placed not in the footnotes to the pages, or anywhere on the margin, or at the end of the book, but immediately below the pertinent part of the basic text. This inevitably tends to enlarge the size of the variorum edition, but that seems to me to be the only practicable way of applying the scientific method to this initial stage of the work, and of economizing the energy and the time of people who should refer, with a serious purpose, to the variorum Hââfez.

A rough estimate is that about 850 sonnets, 10 odes, 100 fragments, 250 quatrains and 350 masnavi distichs, together with a few score distichs of poetry in various other forms, will become available for subsequent treatment. The whole will amount to about 10,000 distichs, to which must be added the nearly 20,000 variants. The variorum edition itself will be a book of about 900 pages, approximately one fourth, in size, of the whole book treating of the text of Hââfez.

These 10,000 distichs and 20,000 variants will form the material which the textual critic of Hââfez must be prepared to start to correct.

## HEALTH AND EDUCATION IN THE NEW TURKEY

By BAY NUZHET BABA

(The author is a leading member of the Turkish Press Association )

### I YOUTH TRAINING

In attempting to describe the effort to attain a physically as well as mentally sound generation we must ask the reader to bear in mind that again in this field several agencies are simultaneously brought to bear in any co-ordinated scheme for the development of youth.

Primarily the Minister of Public Education takes under his *egis* the care of the school age groups, as well as of students attending the higher educational institutions. There is, working under this Minister, a General Director of Physical Education, to whose department is entrusted the duty of initiating and co-ordinating individual and collective efforts in physical activity, centring mainly round sports. The effort to increase facilities, in the way of gymnasiums, playing fields, stadiums, and club houses, to provide games masters, trainers and coaches is also entrusted to this Government body. The third agency is the "Halk Evleri," the People's Houses. The fourth agency, or rather combination of agencies, are certain other responsible groups which will be dealt with later.

Let us first consider *Physical Education* in the schools and the higher educational institutions. From 1908, when the Constitutional regime was inaugurated, until a year or so after the advent of the Republican era in 1923, the policy for physical culture wavered between a combination of the Swedish, the Danish, the German systems and the institution of games of skill, field sports, and athletics.

The inherent love of the Turk for outdoor life, his zeal to distinguish himself in feats of skill and strength, and his natural disinclination for regimentation, drill and spectacular gymnastics, led to the final adoption of the present policy.

Undoubtedly this policy appears to provide the most suitable means of national development in accordance with our national traits and characteristics, hence the administrators chose sports and games as the principal agencies of the physical and moral development of the youth of Turkey. For the younger children in the elementary schools Swedish exercises are arranged, but outdoor games are greatly encouraged and opportunities provided for them. In the period of secondary education organized games and sports constitute, by far, the most prominent part of the curriculum of physical activity. Swedish gymnastics and drill are also given by trained instructors. Light athletic training is also introduced at this period, but age limitations are carefully borne in mind.

In the colleges and universities and other higher educational institutions major sports such as association football, basketball, and athletics of all types are the most encouraged forms of physical activity.

College and university sports are dealt with separately in another part of this article. These naturally are voluntary, yet it is to be borne in mind that physical education is compulsory in all the schools except for students who are physically unfit.

An annual, or in some cases bi annual, physical examination is held in the schools, and pupils are well cared for in the matter of health and physical well being. Nearly all the larger schools are equipped with ample facilities and coaches. Much, of course, remains to be done, but the necessary measures are not being neglected, and it is hoped that soon all difficulties will be overcome.

Both among the younger school-children and the youth attending their higher studies as well as among the youth who have left school and are working in the professions and trades, there is an inextinguishable zeal for sports, a fact which in itself facilitates the work of the Department of Physical Culture.

In both the higher institutions of learning and in the schools for the young the tendency is towards the recreational form of physical activity and receives full official encouragement. There is a lack of instructors and trainers for modern sports and athletics, but the Gazi Institute of Teacher Training at Ankara is now rapidly satisfying the need by incorporating in its curriculum a full course for the training of games masters and physical instructors. In the matter of equipment many schools are not yet satisfactorily provided with indoor gyms, but as the weather in Turkey is not severe, games and other physical activities can be conducted in the open air nine months in the year.

Furthermore, it is only on account of the world war which broke out in 1939 and the consequent diversion of effort and thought into other channels that an Institute of Physical Education could not be opened, this had been planned to train coaches for athletics and instructors for the schools and athletic clubs.

At the head of the Department of Physical Education in the Ministry of Public Instruction there is a very able man, one of the author's oldest friends, who himself has been an outstanding athlete, and who fully appreciates the necessity of the physical training of our youth on the lines generally accepted throughout the world. There is every reason to believe that the schools, colleges, and the universities of the country have now definitely adopted the recreational system in physical education, there is no fear, when one considers the natural inclinations of the youth along those very lines, of a reversion to other methods of physical training. The Physical and Scout Department, to give it its correct name, in the Ministry of Public Education, is also entrusted with the task of organizing and controlling the Boy Scout and the Girl Guide movement, which was introduced into the country shortly after the visit to Istanbul of the late Lord Baden Powell about 1912.

The movement immediately took root among the youth of Turkey and is today one of the essential factors in promoting out-of-door activity and that desirable spirit of chivalry and brotherhood for which it stands in the education of the adolescent.

An annual festival of the Scouts and Guides takes place in Ankara on May 19, on this date, too, all centres in Turkey celebrate 'Youth Day,' a day always looked forward to in the national life. So keen are the young people and their parents in the Scout Movement that parents will go to great expense in providing their sons and daughters with the best Scout equipment. It is, I think, the lure of the out door life which raises this enthusiasm. The efforts of the Ministry in this direction really merit praise, and the results achieved justify their action in the matter.

The Ministry of Public Instruction also organizes summer camps for boys and girls in the summer resorts, notably near suitable beaches, where sea sports may be indulged in. Thousands of youngsters and usually children of parents with limited means go to these summer camps, and so obtain chances which would otherwise not be open to them.

The intramural and intercollegiate sports and athletics are also sponsored and greatly emphasized by the Physical Department of the Ministry and regular athletic events. Football, basketball, volleyball and other matches are a regular feature of the school programme.

#### DIRECTORATE GENERAL OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION

Associated with the efforts of the Ministry of Public Education is the Directorate General of Physical Education, which was created in 1937. This is entrusted with the development of large scale plans and has extensive authority in establishing playing grounds, gyms and all the facilities for the enlargement and extension of the physical activity of the youth.

This Directorate-General supervises, co-ordinates, and regulates physical education and sports generally throughout Turkey.

In the schools its activities are limited to joint consultation with other groups on matters of policy. It is felt best for school and college sports and athletics to be separated from outside activities.

The law instituting the Directorate-General of Physical Education stated in general terms these principles. It can be summarized as implementing and supple-

menting the already existent services and facilities which had been already united under a central federation of all the sports and athletic clubs in the country

The Government in instituting this Directorate-General did not aim at any system of regimentation of the youth, according to certain European standards, nor had it any other intention than to forward the healthy and free development of Turkish children and youth

It has in no way changed the general policy of the physical development of the youth according to liberal and democratic principles, nor has it hampered or restricted club and association initiative. On the contrary, by material support and consultative and advisory assistance, the Directorate-General of Physical Education is rendering great assistance to the associates already established and encouraging the founding of new ones

As a wide reaching remedial measure, Local Authorities, such as the municipalities and administrative executives, have been vested with a variety of powers for aiding physical training and recreational games and occupations within these areas. A considerable part of the municipal and local provincial revenues goes towards the upkeep and the establishment of playgrounds, gymnasiums and places for recreation

Governor-generals, governors, township and district sub-governors and directors—as district governors are called—collaborate with the central authority in the development of a generation which is mentally sound and physically fit. Voluntary effort is so co-ordinated with central aid that it greatly facilitates groups of individuals opening clubs and such institutions, and in running them

The Directorate-General of Physical Education in formulating its general policy decided that when it took over the existing official facilities were inadequate to meet the demand of the situation

Thus the greatest use may be made of the clubs, associations and leagues by helping them financially to increase the facilities they can offer. Part payment of trainers' expenses, contribution towards ground expenses and other such assistance has proved greatly beneficial

The two main shortcomings and consequently the principal concern of the Directorate-General are the increase of playing fields and gymnasiums and of trained instructors. Though in three years great strides have been made, the Institute for Higher Studies in Physical Education, provided for by law, will only be possible when peace is once more established. This institute is designed to provide us with the necessary trained personnel for all purposes. Other measures, however, to meet the demand are not being neglected. Short courses in physical training for those desirous of taking up physical education as a profession, and also refresher courses for those already in the field are frequently conducted to the benefit of all concerned

The Directorate-General incorporates all types of physical activity in its programme, from minor sports and light athletics to swimming, gymnastics and major sports. The programme to be applied is decided upon by the National Advisory Council of Physical Education, a body chosen from among those who have wide knowledge and experience in physical education and athletics. These men are chosen partly by the Prime Minister for their knowledge in the problems involved and partly by the Ministry of Public Education of National Defence, and of Health. Other Ministries are also represented on the Council in an advisory capacity but with the right of voting. It is the business of the Council to make decisions on matters of policy and on grants of financial aid, as well as to attend to the formulation of rules and regulations governing clubs, associations and leagues.

The Directorate-General is financed by a grant made in the State budget to cover all its expenditure, including the salaries of its officials and experts.

The technical branches are divided into "Federations," such as the "Football Federation" or the "Athletic Federation" whose duty is respectively to co-ordinate football and athletic activity throughout the country. Under the Directorate-General are also co-ordinated the various other officers, such as the heads of the Publications and Physical Fitness propaganda departments, and those whose concern is the construction and upkeep of the playing fields, gymnasiums, etc. Much attention is being given to creating in the mind of the general public a realization

of the national and personal value of physical education and sports. But special attention is paid to measures directed to developing a sports-minded youth. The moral value to be derived from out-of-doors activities is never lost sight of, and hence there is no over-emphasis on competitions. "Sport for Sport's sake" is the motto, and playing the game according to the rules is the point most keenly emphasized.

The actual policy and the efforts made to bring Turkish youth abreast with modern conceptions of physical training and recreational activity have been concisely summarized by Ismet Inonu in the following words:

"Those who present stadiums and gymnasiums to the youth of Turkey are bent on extending such facilities for physical fitness to every corner of the country. It is their endeavour to train the young generation, the future administrators of the country, in the open fields and with the spirit of the open air."

But these are far more than words of encouragement from Ismet Inonu, they really express concisely the principles behind the programme adopted for the training of the youth. This training must necessarily be based on the ideological concepts of the new Turkey. Considering that these concepts are directed towards a free and unhampered development of all the better qualities of the younger generation, physical training and sports have no ulterior motives, but represent an end in themselves—namely, physical well-being and the development of moral character, attributes which can best be expressed as "sportsmanship".

Considering that in all their history the Turks have always adhered to the highest ideals of sportsmanship and considering that the Turkish people's conception of physical training has always turned towards games of skill, horsemanship, hunting, wrestling, etc., the new programme of physical education could not have been systematized into anything resembling military drill.

In all the efforts to bring Turkey abreast of modern views, Turkey's leaders in physical training have been led by the natural inclinations, the natural traits and character of the Turkish nation.

The formation of clubs and the holding of athletic meetings date back to the time of the formation of the Constitution in 1908.

The British residents in Istanbul and Izmir about that time introduced association football, and the two American colleges, the Robert College in Istanbul and the International College in Izmir, were largely instrumental in introducing athletics. From the very beginning both these forms of athletic activities appealed strongly to Turkish youth.

From that time onwards clubs, associations, and leagues have been springing up all over the country, especially in the more thickly populated areas. Today Turkey can rightly boast of a health consciousness, a sports-minded and fitness-seeking youth, as fond of outdoor games and outdoor life as any healthy Englishman or American.

Among other central or local agencies contributing to physical education and training and to sports generally, the Halkevleri and the People's Party should be mentioned.

A characteristic of the Party is that whatever appears to it to be an item contributing to national reconstruction and progress is at once championed by the People's Party. Such has been the case with sports and physical education.

The Party conducts surveys and makes investigations, with a view to aiding their revival—into the old Turkish sports of archery, and equestrian javelin throwing, specialists have studied with a view to the revival of kılıç kalkan, which is a form of fencing, but a shorter weapon is used than the modern épée, and a shield of steel is carried. This sport is infinitely more spectacular when skilfully performed than any other of the Turkish sports, present day or ancient. Material help is being extended by the Party in keeping these old sports alive where they have not fallen into oblivion.

The Party is especially interested in the revival of the ideals of sports in the rural districts and villages. The idea that a Turkish village wedding is incomplete unless there is a wrestling bout finds full support in the Party circles, and so villages are being supplied with wrestling mats and other equipment required for this national sport.

For such assistance the party assigns yearly a fund which is allocated in monetary grants and material assistance to clubs, and especially to those which are interested in the revival of rural sports. Among other encouragements sponsored by the Party are trophy cups, medals and similar awards to competitors who distinguish themselves in sport.

Clubs and sport organizations, controlled and aided though they may be by Government and Party, are at the same time patronized by the majority of the people. Monthly membership subscriptions, donations, and local grants do much to cover the club expenses.

As Turkish sports are purely amateur—with perhaps the exception of a limited amount of professional wrestling—Turkey has to face few of the problems of sport which confront certain other countries.

Football matches and wrestling competitions attract huge crowds, and all classes are so interested that they will go to some expense to attend matches, even though it means time and money to go to other towns and villages. There are naturally club fans who follow every competition in the keenest way, and in hotly contested matches the cheering is comparable with that of an English League football match or a World Series baseball game.

Some of the favourite football clubs have a following of thirty to forty thousand supporters, and league championship matches, as well as international matches, attract very large crowds.

Wrestling competitions, basketball games and athletic meetings are also popular attractions. At seaside towns and villages swimming and rowing, and, to a some what limited extent, yachting, are favourite sports in the summer season.

In all branches of sports and athletics local associations are affiliated to the International Amateur Federation, which demands strict observance of the rules of the amateur status. International matches are encouraged and Turkey's record in the international sphere of sport, though not outstanding, has its high lights.

There has been a regular Balkan Olympiad, arranged between Turkey, Greece, Bulgaria, Rumania, Albania, and Yugoslavia. The plan worked excellently until the advent of the war, and great benefit was derived from the establishment of friendship between the youth of these Balkan countries.

Meetings were held annually, each of the participating countries taking its turn to be the host.

The idea of these local Olympiads was first sponsored by the Turkish Federation of Sports, and was so generally accepted throughout the whole of the Balkans that when the war is over we do not doubt that the 'Balkan Games,' as we called them, will once more be resumed to continue to serve their good purpose of bringing the neighbouring youth closer together in bonds of sportsmanship and in those consequent friendships of that lasting nature, which is, in our opinion, the greatest value to be derived from any sport.

A word or two here would not be out of place, on the patronage given by Turkey's leaders in the matter of sports and games.

The national chief, Ismet Inonu, takes a great personal interest in horse racing and is himself a first-class horseman, almost every day he may be seen riding on the hills that surround Ankara.

But it is not racing alone that he patronizes, he thoroughly enjoys watching a football match, an athletic meeting, or a cross-country race.

His two sons are proving to be as keen sportsmen as their father. Though they follow the regular studies in the Turkish schools, they find time for all the available sports. Not only are both these two young men good horsemen, but they can be seen driving a light car, riding a motor cycle, taking part in tennis tournaments, or going off early on a snowy morning with their skis on their shoulders to enjoy a morning's sport on the slopes of the mountains bordering Ankara.

Sükrü Saracoglu, the Turkish foreign secretary, is a most ardent enthusiast of football and, indeed, of most games, he has been known to go from Ankara to Istanbul for the week-end mainly, it was suspected, to watch a hotly contested football game. Sükrü Saracoglu must, it is popularly mooted, be either in bed ill—fortunately a rare occurrence—or away from town, if he is not to be seen in the grandstand at

least half an hour before a race, an athletic meet or a football match commences. Very much the same may be said of Ali Rana Tarhan, the Minister of Customs and Monopolies, of General Kâzım Özalp, Chief of the General Staff, and indeed of most of the prominent public men at the helm of the Turkish State.

This patronage is not just a *pro forma* attendance, merely for the sake of encouragement. These men get as much enjoyment out of watching those games as do the actual participants.

People who study lists of international records may wonder about the standard of our performances, since the Turks are so keen on modern sports. They may ask whether the Turks have approached any world records, or whether they have recently equalled any of their erstwhile world champion wrestlers, like Kara Ahmed, Kurd Dereci, Koca Yusuf or Madrali Halil, that 'Terrible Turk'. To such inquiries we may reply that we have reason to be proud of our modern exponents of the game. The Turkish wrestling team, employing the Greco-Roman style—the real Turkish wrestling is free style—came out first of all the Balkan countries in all the six annual tournaments between 1934 and 1939. Italy, France and Russia also have been beaten by the Turkish teams at the several international matches which have taken place.

Finland—the father of European wrestling—has also been beaten by Turkish teams both in Finland and in Turkey, both in the free and in the Greco-Roman styles. We naturally do not mean to suggest that the Turks have not had their defeats. Sweden, for example, in 1936 put up a team quite equal to ours, and our men did not prove very successful in Germany, but, unless the rough has to be taken with the smooth, sportsmanship loses much of its value, and certainly we have learnt much from our set backs.

Yasar, a young lad from Istanbul, won the first prize in the Olympic Games in Berlin, 1936, in the 61 kilo class, and Ahmed won the third place in free-style competition at the same meet.

Another wrestler named Yasar and a certain Mustafa, both Anatolian lads, competing in the Greco-Roman style, won the European championships at 66 and 76 kilos, respectively, at Oslo in 1939.

Wrestling is in Turkey much as football is in England, and both the public and the wrestlers themselves show much less interest in international contests than in the national championships in which rivalry and competition are of the very keenest.

At the International Horse Shows the Turkish team of riders has come out with high honours in Italy, France, Britain, and Ireland. A Turkish team won the competition for the Mussolini cup in Rome, as well as many individual events. But in horsemanship, too, local competitions count more among the people than the international events, and so no absolute criteria of comparison between Turkish horsemanship and that of other nations is available.

But the fact stands out clearly that none of the historic love of the Turk for the horse and equestrian sports has in any way diminished.

So inherent is this love that it shows itself in the President and appears, too, in almost every villager.

The President knows this well, and, apart from the personal pleasure and exercise he gets from his horses, he gives his patronage to horse racing for the benefit of the nation and the amusement of the masses. Even during those days when Inönü was advised by his doctors to avoid strenuous riding, he could be seen going down through the paddock behind his house and into the stables quite early in the morning just to get a short, brisk canter on his favourite thoroughbred. So keen is the President on both riding and racing that there is scarcely a race meeting which takes place in Ankara which he misses.

In association football the Turkish national team has played many international matches, some in the European capitals and others in Ankara and Istanbul. Naturally there have been some successes and many failures, but there is every promise that Turkish football will with proper coaching and frequent contact with good European teams, especially with English teams, prove itself capable of a high standard. Before 1939 Turkish teams regularly visited European countries, including Soviet Russia, and return visits were made to Turkey at frequent intervals.

In athletics there is still much to be desired in the performances of our young men, but progress is being made, and in the opinion of experts it will not be long before Turkish athletes will be able to acquit themselves well at all the international competitions. In long-distance running, the high jump and the weight throwing events is the progress especially marked, and in these events the national records of Turkey are either on a par or fall little below the performances of other countries.

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## THOUGHTS ON THE INDIAN CENSUS

By T. C. HODSON

I CENSUS OF INDIA, 1941

(*Prepared by M. W. M. Yeatts*)

EVERY Ambassador, even the most silent, must expect curious people to disregard diplomatic privilege and peer into the contents of his luggage, and most carefully when they are warned to expect the happy combination of elegance, efficiency and economy. They may not find all they wanted and hoped to find, for times are hard. They will find in this Report a tale of difficulties overcome, of toil and sweat and the result of the happy interest taken by India in its census, where the people are far sounder than a perusal of the Press and of speeches would imply. Here is no partisan association, for care was taken to secure an impartial collection of facts. Indeed, only in localized urban areas in the north were definite corruptions observed." The census was not taken simultaneously all over India on one selected night, but over a period of days with full opportunities for inspection and check. It is pointed out that "India has at her disposal a most powerful informational system if she cares to use and develop it." Economies were necessary, but, as so often happens, they increased efficiency by simplification and the use of modern methods. Minor enquiries were started and stimulated and will in time add to knowledge of the economic position and of true specific fertility rates. There is, as the census shows, a wide recognition in India of civic duty whereby every citizen is concerned directly with the work in hand. In this field the Indian States, so often held up to scorn as backward monuments of a long past age, showed keen interest and gave active support to schemes devised to ensure continuity and to relate vital statistics to the conditions of the countryside. Methods are suggested which should go far to remove the subjective element from the census and statistical field in India and rid it of its heavy crop of tares.

In the ten years from 1931 India proper has added over 50 millions to its population and the cities and towns with 100,000 or more inhabitants—now 58 compared with 35 in 1931—have increased from 9·1 to 16·5 million, a rise of 81 per cent. City life, we are told, has begun really to appeal to the ordinary middle-class or lower middle-class Indian because "for the first time accommodation within his means and to his taste has become available." Industrialism, too, has a great effect in this. The education question, too, is a powerful influence, "for the best education is available only in the cities. Elsewhere it is sometimes not available at all, and in a country like India, where the middle classes attach so much value to education, this is a powerful influence." Indeed, the topic of urban development in India deserves careful attention, for the past knew great urban centres in the north whose mark has been made on the social order of India."

An interesting table—XIV—shows the variation in population of selected tribes. Most of them are increasing in numbers. The matrilineal tribes in Assam are doing well, so too are the black-skinned tribes of the Chota Nagpur Plateau. The fall in the numbers of the haughty Toda has been checked, but what has happened to the

Searas of Madras, etc., who are 167,000 fewer than in 1931? The Shins of Kashmir, whose mother-tongue belongs to the Dard group of Indo-European languages, seem to have suffered in numbers, but from Kashmir comes the explanation that "had the figures for the Gilgit Agency been available the percentage increase would probably have been about the same percentage increase for the whole population." Possibly the Kukis of Assam have been absorbed into other communities, but they were a nomadic people, like birds building their nests here one year and far away the next.

The population—389 millions—is spread over 1,581,410 square miles. British India has 865,446 square miles and the States and Agencies occupy 715,964 square miles. In round figures 295 millions live in British India, of whom 258 millions live in villages. In the States there are 93 millions, of whom 12 millions live in towns and 81 millions in villages, 201 millions are males and 188 millions females. There are relatively fewer females than in 1931; for every 1,000 males there are now 935 as against 940 in 1931. The ratio is lower in British India than in the States, where the ratio is what it was in 1931. There are areas in British India and in the States where there are more females than males. Table XVI shows, in columns 9 and 10, densities in 1941 and 1931 by districts. Reference has been made to the great increase in the population of Indian cities. Of the 58 Indian cities 18 are in the States, Hyderabad having risen by 272,000 in ten years. The density of population may be affected by social and economic factors, and by the sum total of agricultural conditions in which rainfall and irrigation play a very great part, while in most of the more densely populated tracts rice is the predominant crop. In Delhi—594<sup>4</sup> square miles—the density is 1,599 to the square mile. Next comes Cochin with 953, then Travancore with 792, and then Bengal with 779 to the square mile. The Bengal figures include Calcutta, Hooghly and Howrah. At the other end comes Baluchistan with 4 to the square mile. Jaisalmer has now got 6 to the square mile.

There are areas where the pressure of the population on the means of subsistence has assumed the proportions of a serious menace. It was pointed out in 1931 that the cultivating classes generally lack the capital required for the extension of cultivation beyond the existing margin, particularly where the cultivation practised is already dependent on a somewhat problematical rainfall. Mechanical improvements are a doubtful palliative, though no such doubt attaches to biological improvements enabling a better crop to be obtained from a smaller area. The trends in the growth of the population of India are shown in the map by percentage variations. In fact, we have in the Punjab and Eastern Bengal two swarming areas. The Sikh has followed the water. East Bengal has a practically unfailing water supply and the river floods have a healthy and cleansing influence as well. In other areas the rate of increase is less than 10 per cent, and the man referred to should be compared with the large map showing forests, irrigation and water power. There are hydro-electric installations not marked, which indicate the importance of small scale installations serving limited or special areas. The imagination is struck, the cheque books are opened by great schemes for the production of electrical power, but the example of thrifty France may be studied with advantage, for there many small villages on the banks of the rivers and canals have cheap electric light generated by turbines erected at proper points. 'Mony a muckle makes a muckle.'

It is an advantage to have the community made the basis of calculation, for when religion was the defining factor, "the attitude of an enumerator in dealing with this difficult question was inevitably in many cases to treat anything as Hindu which was obviously not Christian or Muslim", but here caution is necessary, for in fact in one way the less spoken about the census the better, for the best statistics are not the result of pressure or compulsion, they should appear as an unnoticed phenomenon."

The quality of literacy is not a matter for the rough and ready methods of the census. There has been great improvement, and much of this is due to influences like the wireless. When you have public broadcasts to which people listen it is certain that not all the illiterate listeners will remain content just to be told. A democratic system based on heads is incompatible with a predominant illiteracy, and some credit must be given to a stirring of consciousness among the people themselves that the features do not go together.

It is a wise saying that "there is a limit on what can be imposed above, but, broadly speaking, no limit to what can be built from below" The malaria map of India, compared with the density map and that of the forests and irrigation, tells a tale of its own and ought to gain a valuable ally for the Public Health Commissioner Caution again is urged, since the methods or standards of collection of vital statistics vary widely as between different parts of the sub-continent. "A figure in itself means nothing, it may be a fact, a reasonable approximation, a guess, an error—even for that matter a lie" As Whitehead puts it, "there is no valid inference from mere mathematics to concrete nature"

There is plenty of thought in this Report in spite of the troubles which beset the Commissioner. Illness, transfer to other most urgent work in connection with the war, and the discontinuity of census work made it impossible for all the projects seething in an ingenuous mind to be carried to completion Anthropological discussions have gone, but it would be interesting to know how strong is the position of the caste order, which used to exert a vital influence on the growth and distribution of the population" Is it still true that the trend of the practice—of widow marriage—is to contract rather than to expand? Has the Child Marriage Restraint Act of 1930 had any appreciable effect on the fertility of the population? India—we are told elsewhere (*Medicine and Mankind*, Sorsby, p. 98)—with its enormous expanse of territory and its teeming millions with their great diversity of customs, has been the centre of much field work on the value of different diets Southern India—with its hard headed population—leads the way in pulmonary tuberculosis, leprosy, beri beri, gastric and duodenal ulcer, and is close to Bengal in diarrhoea and dysentery Dietary customs, agricultural conditions, staples, surely come into play, and since fertility is affected by marriage rules, some knowledge of the working of these rules under present conditions is necessary to a full understanding of the Ambassador's bag The language question is difficult, yet there are, or were, 225 different languages in India and a wide bilingualism Even the great Linguistic Survey of India had to leave untouched an important part of the sub-continent India is indebted to the States for the full operations carried out by them

## II CENSUS OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR, 1941 (Prepared by Captain R G Wreford)

The State of Jammu and Kashmir is the largest Indian State, with an area of 84,471 square miles\*. Its population was 4,021,616, of whom 414,435 were classed as urban About nine times as many are rural' Muslims form over 77 per cent and Hindus over 20 per cent The Gujjars are no longer nomadic by inclination—except the Bakarwal section, who keep large herds of sheep and goats and some buffaloes and cattle, and cultivate land at an altitude well above the ordinary levels, and do a great deal of damage to the forests in the process They are decreasing in numbers and rank low in literacy Here we are reminded that social customs are bound to have some effect on the rate of increase of population, certainly those relating to marriage, divorce and re-marriage It is probable that the customs of the various elements of the population, as much as any other factors, account for the variations in the increase of the four main communities of the State The social customs of the Sikhs provide favourable conditions The expenses connected with the marriage ceremony are not unduly high There is little caste restriction, the parties have considerable freedom of selection, widow re-marriage is recognized, purdah is not practised The Sikhs are monogamous, which is important where there is a deficiency of females The Muslims have no caste restrictions and the parties enjoy considerable freedom of selection if they be of mature age Divorce is recognized and the re-marriage of widows approved"

The customs prevalent among Hindus are not so conducive to an increase The

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\* *India*, Table I, gives Kashmir 82,259 square miles and Hyderabad 82,313 If the area claimed in the Kashmir Report, 84,471 square miles, is correct (p. 72, Table I), then Kashmir is the largest Indian State

expenses connected with marriage are usually heavy, caste restrictions are considerable, freedom of selection is unusual, the marriage of immature boys and girls was the rule rather than the exception before the passing of the Infant Marriage Act, which is likely to operate in favour of a larger rate of increase especially in the Muslim and Hindu communities. As to the small increase in the Buddhist community, the practice of polyandry is sufficient explanation in itself. Add to this the fact that it is customary for every family to dedicate at least one of its younger sons to a monastery to become a monk and at least one girl to become a *chomo* or nun and to live a life of celibacy. In fact, it is the nature of the country which has probably given rise to the practice of polyandry and the dedication of boys and girls to the monasteries. The country cannot support an increasing population in existing conditions.

Agriculture is of prime importance, and it is to be regretted that the statistics for the means of livelihood are not more reliable (p. 230). They show a large number of persons taking rent and not cultivating, more than the numbers of the tenant cultivators and agricultural labourers together. Legislative action has been taken to restrict the peasants' powers to alienate his land heritage, but the extravagance and improvidence of the peasant militate against substantial improvement. Not only have the conditions of land tenure and life been improved in the last two decades, but active steps have been taken to use science and modern technique. Successful types of local rice and wheat have been obtained by 'pure line' methods. Selected seed is distributed. Demonstrations are given, agricultural shows held, and booklets issued free. In parts dung has to be used as fuel and artificial fertilizers are too dear for the peasant, so that the soil is impoverished. Coal exists in one district and may help, but afforestation of denuded areas by quick growing trees to be used as fuel is recommended. Fruit growing is of great importance and much has been done and money spent to destroy pests, the Scale and the Aphis. A reorganized Veterinary Department is doing good work by maintaining and developing cattle breeding centres and by issuing vaccines produced in the Department's laboratory to protect cattle against rinderpest. Eggs are consumed at the rate of five a year, so that in poultry keeping there is room for expansion. Sheep breeding gets due attention. Co-operative Societies are encouraged and their aim in many cases is to improve village sanitation, reduce expenses, check harmful customs, to get better farming, removal of adult illiteracy, to remove debt, but many join to get something for nothing and loans without interest or intention to repay. Marketing, too, is studied, but there are several local different standards of weights and measures and there is opposition to suggested improvements.

To the agriculturalist irrigation is most important, and here the record is good. New projects have been completed, old canals improved and extended. While 100 per cent of the cultivated area is irrigated in the Frontier Districts, elsewhere less is thus helped and the general percentage is 35 per cent of the cultivated area. In the mountainous tracts, so Colonel Lorimer says, 'channels to bring water from where it is available, often miles away, are designed with precision and executed with great resource and ingenuity, often being carried on revetted or galleried aqueducts across cliff faces.'

Important improvements have been made in roads, many dangerous corners have been reduced and roads surfaced with tar. To secure an all weather motor service in all districts to the chief centres will involve much work. In the State the percentage of the cultivable area is now 5.6 per cent and the density of population is not high (48 for the whole State, varying from 5 in the Frontier Districts to 376 in Jammu).

All the forests have been brought under regular working plans. Sericulture is being developed by the State. Tourism and trout streams attract many visitors, who thus support many small industries. But science has been called in to point the way to the manufacture of drugs and the cultivation of pyrethrum, and newsprint may soon be produced. Hydro-electric developments are being planned. The decay of the Central Asian trade through Leh may be due to the lack of stable government and the hostility of elements in the Sin Kiang Province of China. Useful measures have been taken to reduce unemployment, and the list of the measures under con-

temptation shows a very high degree of statesmanship Education should start—so it was held—with the essential minimum and to centre round the appropriate forms of craft work as required to equip persons for intelligent citizenship We hear of Adult Education, of Refresher Courses for teachers and Training Colleges, of provision of public libraries, and of the construction of school buildings By 1941, 3,457 adult literacy centres had been opened and over 60,000 male adults were under instruction

The script and language controversy has been settled by the rule that the common medium of instruction would be simple Urdu and the Persian and Devanagri scripts, both taught and used, students having their choice Kashmiri, which Grierson assigns to the Dardic group (the purest form of which is Shina), has been greatly influenced by Indian, Sanskritic, languages (*Linguistic Survey of India* Vol VIII, Pt II, p 241 sqq.) Tibetan language—Balti—is spoken in the State, and it also holds the speakers of Burushaski, a remarkable language as yet unassigned to any great linguistic family Fortunately a very full and scholarly account of Burushaski has been given to the world by Colonel Lorimer, who points out that ‘these radical linguistic distinctions are to a large extent masked, if not superficially deleted, by bilingualism’ However that may be, one lady was found who could speak seven languages

Here, then, is a record of which any administration might be proud Longevity has increased Sound measures have been taken to improve economic conditions The system of land tenure has been modified and peasant ownership encouraged The Constitution has been liberalized and the judiciary reformed Scientific and educational organizations have been established Pure water supply, paving streets and lanes, drainage, campaigns against venereal disease, two modern hospitals, sanitary control of food are items worthy of notice Much had to be done, much has been done, and there are good grounds for thinking that the spirit of intelligent application of modern scientific and practical methods in every field of activity is here strong enough to carry forward to completion the various measures proposed The State of Kashmir and Jammu sets a good example to other Indian Governments and its record in every department should silence critics This useful census report makes a very good impression by its honesty, its straightforwardness, and by its careful survey of the forces and factors, social and economic, which affect the fertility of the population

## BRITISH WOMEN IN INDIA

By MRS O CROFTON

In recent months a wide search has been made to find a scapegoat to bear the blame for the ‘Indian Problem,’ and the victims selected for this purpose vary greatly, and now a lady has stepped upon the platform of the East India Association and announced that the blame attaches largely to British women in India

The sweeping statements of Mrs Portal, given in the *ASIATIC REVIEW* for July, 1943, force one to the conclusion that she has been unfortunate in her acquaintances, and that her circle, and may we suggest her vision, has been somewhat limited

No one can deny individual cases of bad manners, that such exist is self-evident, but cases of ill-breeding are to be found in every community and are certainly not the exclusive characteristic of Englishwomen It is true also that indifference to the country and those who live in it can often be found among English people living in big cities and in cantonments, yet even here the blame does not rest on them alone More than once both men and women have told me that they had found it difficult to make any but the most superficial contacts with Indians Possibly Mrs Portal is

not aware that better-class Indians are most exclusive in their own family life and are disinclined to take strangers into their homes. Among themselves social intercourse is largely restricted to their own relatives (I speak, of course, of the average Indian, not of the relatively few who are completely emancipated), and when they do go out they are careful whom they meet.

The writer has, on a good many occasions, received, in answer to an invitation to dinner, a request for information as to who else may be amongst the other guests. She does not remember any objection being made to meeting Europeans, but a number of Indian ladies refused to meet Indian gentlemen who did not bring their own wives out of purdah, while some Hindu ladies objected to meeting Muslim men. This reluctance to admit strangers to their homes makes any shyness on the English side far more comprehensible to the average Indian mind than it is to ladies whose experience is confined to cantonments. Then there is the difficulty of the food question. A guest who will not eat and drink with you is a trifle discouraging, and it is sometimes difficult in a small household to cater for a very mixed party, when no sort of beef or pig can be served and when even game is useless unless a Muslim shikari has been able to cut the throats of the wounded birds in the prescribed manner, and no wine may be used in the cooking. General hospitality in India, therefore, has its pitfalls, and some understanding of the varying local conditions is necessary. It is not altogether surprising, therefore, that some women, coming to this country for a short time, should be discouraged and make no attempt to surmount the initial difficulties.

But this is only the fringe of the matter, for it deals with the birds of passage, not with the number of Englishwomen who for the best part of their lives make their homes in this country and give of their best to India and to those who dwell in it. India owes much to them, and Indian women are the first to acknowledge the debt. Indeed, it is at the suggestion of an Indian lady that these lines are written. What of the doctors, she said, who came to help the women of India, who for centuries had been left to live or die as best they might? These women not only worked themselves, but have shown Indian girls how to take up this great service for themselves. What of the nurses who come to serve in Indian hospitals because nursing is a despised profession and few Indians of the class required will take it up? In this respect it is interesting to study the figures of the A.N.S. Exclusive of Anglo-Indians, the ratio of British to Indian women in this service is five to one, and these daughters of ours, let it be remembered, are working gladly in the Indian Military Hospitals for the sepoys and not for the British soldiers. Let all honour, however, be given to such Indian ladies who have volunteered as nurses; one realizes their difficulty and admires the courage which has led them to surmount it.

What of the teachers, continued my friend, who through the medium of the schools and colleges have done so much to improve the standard of life in this country, perhaps more than has been done by any other class in the last fifty years? For, when all is said and done, it is the women, in or out of purdah, who have the most potent effect on social life. What, too, of the missionaries in the remoter parts of the districts? What of the wives of officials? In the States where loaned officers are stationed, bachelors are seldom employed and never welcomed, for it is generally said in such States "When we have European officers we pay for one worker and we get two." Indeed, this feeling is so strong that the wife who was not ready to take a considerable part in the social work as well as the social life of the State would be regarded with extreme surprise and disapproval. They are taken for granted, but they do not often fail.

British women are largely responsible for the foundation of ladies' clubs in India, or Child Welfare Centres, and for carrying out useful work for which no one else has the time or inclination, and, where Court of Wards are concerned, the wife of the officer in charge of them generally makes the first contacts, which often end in lifelong friendships with the ladies of the estates under management. Lastly, what if those other women in the great cities who spend what would be their leisure in welfare schemes in their husbands' factories, or in furthering movements, such as the Girl Guides, which mean so much to the girls of India?

Then the "escapist theory of prestige." That word must mean very different

things to different types of people if such an adjective can be applied to it. To some it may mean a reason for whiling away the long hot days in select dullness at mahjong or bridge. In others racial pride is hidden deep within, where it acts as a spur to duty and obligation, yet this interpretation, far commoner than Mrs Portal believes, brings with it the happiness of understanding and wide contacts and of achievement. As my Indian friend says, "It is a pity perhaps that those who understand and who do things in this country so seldom talk about it." If they did the mahjong circles would be less noticeable. Yet mahjong may have its uses too. It is popular with some Indian ladies and the emancipated among them may be seen in some clubs playing away the morning hours with a fervour equal to that of their British partners.

BAHAWALPUR

*September, 1943*

## THE MALAY IN MALAYA

BY SIR THEODORE ADAMS, C M G

' Swords and spears in our country,  
Silver and gold abroad,  
Our country is still the best "

THIS Malay proverb is the basis of a Malay's attitude to life. Love of his ricefields when the young rice is pale green in water which reflects the sunrise and sunset, until the golden grain is ready for the knife, of his village house, brown thatch among the coconuts, silver at night and murmuring by day, leads up to loyalty to his Chief, loyalty to his Sultan, and loyalty to those Englishmen who take the trouble to know him and understand him. But he is an individualist as a peasant proprietor usually is; this deep sense of loyalty and the ties of the Muslim religion are what unite communities having no other bond. A village turns out to drive off a band of gang robbers with more enthusiasm than was shown in earlier times in permitting its young men to join the local forces. But there has been a steady growth of the realization of wider ties—to some extent what Kipling called "ties of funk"—which has shown itself in a recognition of the importance of the State, the willingness to enrol in the State battalions (there was often a waiting list after 1925), and a greater stress on the common heritage of Islam. It is the threat to the Malay way of life created by the large numbers of immigrants that has forced the Malay to begin to think in terms of unity and to develop from groups of families in villages into a true State far more quickly than could have happened without that pressure. Many of the Malays in the peninsula have come over from Sumatra during the last quarter of a century, an immigration which is not new but has increased with the development of the Malay States. Some writers attempt to suggest that these people are foreigners and alien to the older-established Malays. In fact, there is much intermarriage, and the first generation born in the States can hardly be distinguished from the older families, many of them show the same respect for the Rulers, and few of them do not look on themselves as members of the State. The educated elements among them hold themselves also part of the British Empire. Their presence is accelerating the cementing of the Malays into larger units conscious of their unity.

Possibly the Japanese occupation is compelling thoughts of unity between States in the minds of the more far-seeing Malays, but the great majority are yet far from that. It is a fact that during the fighting in 1941-1942 some Malay companies showed some loss of morale when they were forced to retire outside the State, which to them is their country, their home which they must defend.

It would still be difficult to raise any enthusiasm, e.g., among Pahang and Negri Sembilan Malays, to fight in defence of, e.g. Kehan or Johore and *vice versa*.

The word "Malaya" was not invented by the Malays, nor has it much, if any, meaning for them. It represents the British urge to unite peoples having the same language, the same religion, and to a considerable extent the same customs. In fact, many Malays suspect it as possibly involving something even more than that—something which they fear and dislike. So those of us who have worked and played with Malays know and think of them as individuals, charming, courteous, friendly, loyal, courageous, democratic, yet welcoming ancient constituted authority imposed on them by custom and religion, democratic, that is, in a different way from British democracy based on the vote, we think of villages hospitable to the visitor but immersed in village affairs, of States composed of villages held together by the allegiance of the minor chiefs and headmen to the Sultan—but only in the last twelve years of the beginnings of inter-State unity in the conferences of the Rulers and leaders of all States meeting together to discuss and advise on matters of common interest. Up to 1941, at least, there were States which were unwilling to enter into any formal federation and not enthusiastic even in sending representatives to a Conference. The State Councils command willing obedience such as the Federal Council has never won.

Like peasants elsewhere, the Malay dislikes routine, monotonous work, the performance of the same task time and time again. He likes to turn from his ploughing to odd jobs in and around the house, to setting his fish traps in a river, to a little music on a violin or banjo, to a desultory talk with a friend or passerby. Consequently twenty years ago it was still not attractive to him to become a clerk, and he showed less efficiency than did certain other races—the Malay in administrative work could not be relied on to deal thoroughly with the duller side of administration in an office and rather disliked method and accuracy. The change in twenty years is amazing, and gives great hope for the future. Partly this is due to the discipline of the public school showing itself when several generations of boys have created their own school tradition and code, partly it is the result of the example of British officers but it is also a development in the Malay himself due to contact with other races, and based on the—at first—unconscious, but now conscious, appreciation of the need to adapt his way of life if he is to preserve his culture in a world which thinks in continents and not in villages, and tends to look on all races as merely differing in colour or language and not in their fundamental outlook on life. But this younger educated generation, which accepts responsibility and takes a considerable part in the administration, hopes to keep its culture and tradition and is looking for a way to preserve them. There has been none of those growing pains which have shown themselves in some countries in hostility to the administration. Rather Malays are proud of their increasing responsibility and look on the Services as theirs. They are more critical of faults in their leaders, and expect a high standard in them, while still maintaining respect for their age long authority.

Some persons appear to think that a Sultan is a mediæval autocrat, a relic of days of oppression and violence, imposing his unfettered authority on unwilling subjects. A Malay, be he agriculturist, artisan or a member of a profession, would be amazed at the ignorance shown by those who take this view. A Malay Sultan is really a constitutional Ruler. He can do little in the political and administrative spheres without the approval of his Council, composed of leading men of his own race and representatives of immigrant races. In the religious sphere he is bound not only by Muslim doctrine but also by his Council of the religious hierarchy, many of whom are shrewd, tolerant men, though a few—as everywhere in the world and in every religion—are narrow minded and fanatical. He is easily approached by his people however humble their position, it is his duty to right any wrongs which they may have. Most of the Rulers speak English, read newspapers, have travelled outside Malaya, and have contacts with members of the immigrant races.

Although this article is intended to outline the Malay attitude to the present day, it would be incomplete without some reference to the work done by the British, since we are responsible for much of the change which has taken place. Our task has been to make the Malay Government and administration efficient, clean and progressive, not to destroy but to develop, not to compel but to lead. There is still work to be done, but we should be proud to recognize in the efficiency and honesty

of Malays in the administrative services the success of the work already done As yet there is not one country of Malaya possibly it will be a long time before even a true federation acceptable to Malays can be created It is the task of the British administration to seek this end, to teach and persuade We can at least be sure that if we retain the confidence and loyalty of Malays of all classes, and never weaken their culture and way of life, they themselves will increasingly look for greater unity among themselves, and be ready to associate with them peoples of other nationality, who are willing to share their loyalty and devotion to their land, and their respect for their constituted authorities This beautiful land of wooded hills, peaceful rivers, swift and heavy storms, sunshine and the shade of the trees, may be enervating to the immigrant, and tend to make the Malay appreciate the comforts of life rather than seek arduous days but the elimination of malaria, a better ordered diet, education, the healthy exercise of football, hockey, badminton and tennis go far to counteract the climate The generations which have grown up since these things were available already show that this is the case, and give great hope for the future The old days of apathy and drift are passing and will soon have passed

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## JAVA AS I KNEW IT

BY SIR JOSIAH CROSBY, K C M G , K B E , C I E

WHEN I went to Batavia in 1920 the world war of 1914-18 was still fresh in every one's memory The Governor-General at that time and throughout the war was Count van Limburg Sturum, who had held his high office with great distinction during a most difficult period While the war lasted his task, of course, had been to remain scrupulously neutral, with the inevitable result that, like most persons who show themselves to be really impartial with respect to any particular conflict, he was sometimes accused by both sides of being unjust to them I found him myself to be invariably most fair, he was a good friend of Britain, as he was of all good friends of his own country, but I soon learnt that he had only one pronounced preference, which was, very rightly and properly, a preference in favour of Dutch interests! He was, in fact, as he ought to have been, predominantly pro-Dutch, and no one will blame him, whilst all must admire him, for that Count van Limburg Sturum was by birth and in manner a *grand seigneur*, and he discharged his viceregal duties (for such, in effect, they were) with the greatest possible dignity The Countess, his wife, was a very gracious lady, and I am indebted both to her and to him for many personal acts of kindness which still linger gratefully in my memory Count van Limburg Sturum adopted what may be called a forward policy as regards the development of native institutions in the Netherlands East Indies and the participation of natives in the administration For this he was criticized by the more conservative among his fellow-countrymen It is not for me to comment upon political issues which concern my Dutch friends and are no concern of mine, but I will say that, when I consider the most recent developments and what appears to be the feeling upon this question of most Dutchmen to-day, I am led to the conclusion that Count van Limburg Sturum may not have been wrong in principle, though he was perhaps a little ahead of his time His high ideals were called in question by none

Count van Limburg Sturum was succeeded as Governor-General in 1921 by the late Mr Dirk Fock, who had started life as a lawyer at Batavia many years before and had subsequently returned to Holland, where he embarked upon a political career and became the head of the Liberal Party He was already well advanced in age when he was appointed Governor-General, but he still showed wonderful vigour and energy I can recollect his delivering a long address upon the occasion of the official opening of a session of the Volksraad, it was packed with figures and with

detailed information of various kinds and can only have been committed to memory, yet Mr Fock spoke for over half an hour without pause or stumbling and entirely without notes. Though a liberal in home politics, he was less advanced in his native policy than was his predecessor. He followed a line of caution and prudence, especially in financial matters, and was generally regarded as being a sound, if not brilliant, representative of his Sovereign. In 1926 he was followed in his turn by Jonkheer Mr A C D de Graeff, who had at one time previously been Vice-President of the Council of India under Count van Limburg Sturum, and who was still Governor-General when I left Netherlands India later on for good. Of Jonkheer de Graeff's many kindnesses to me I can only speak with intense appreciation, I was privileged to be his guest on several occasions at his palace at Buitenzorg, and I conceived a high respect for his simplicity of character, combined with a deep sense of the responsibilities which had devolved upon him by virtue of his great position. He resumed the liberal policy of Count van Limburg Sturum in native matters, though he did not shrink from applying the necessary measures for suppressing such attempts at action by violence on the part of the extreme nationalists as the communist disorders which broke out at Batavia in November, 1926.

There would be little purpose in my telling you much about my work whilst I was at Batavia. It will be enough to say that, in addition to the routine duties which devolve upon any consular establishment all the world over, there was a good deal of work of a political nature which it fell more particularly to the lot of the Consul-General himself to perform. This consisted largely of the submission to the Foreign Office of reports upon local affairs, and more especially upon the native movement and upon native questions generally, a subject in which my Government was, very naturally, much interested. In view of the significance in themselves of the Netherlands East Indies and of their distance from Holland, the Batavia post was, in fact, a quasi-diplomatic one and ranked among the most important of all British Consulates-General. I may remark that great attention was being paid during much of my time at Batavia to the activities of the native communists, which formed for quite a long while one of the most difficult problems with which the Government had to grapple. After I had left Netherlands India, what struck me most when I compared notes with my successor was the circumstance that native questions figured a good deal less in his reports than they used to do in mine. As a matter of fact, after 1931 the troublesome political agitations set up from time to time among the indigenous population of Java and other islands seem to have diminished notably, if not to have disappeared altogether. I see in this a consequence of the wise and tactful handling of the situation by the local Government, which showed firmness in arresting, and banishing to New Guinea in the worst cases, the leaders of subversive political movements, but which at the same time met the aspirations of the native intelligentsia by allowing it to take a prudently graduated, but increasing, share in the administration of the country.

Among the subjects upon which I had to report to London was that of the methods of administration applied by the Dutch in the Netherlands East Indies, including the nature and functions of that very interesting legislative body, the Volksraad. I shall not waste your time by attempting to explain those methods of administration to you, if only because they have been more than amply dealt with of late years in a vast number of publications, some of which, I have no doubt, will be familiar to you. But I would say that I came to entertain a great admiration for the Dutch as colonial rulers, and I admired in particular their system in Java of governing through the intermediary of "Regents," who were chosen in each district from the native aristocracy, and who constituted an invaluable link between the higher Dutch authorities upon the one hand and the subordinate indigenous officials upon the other. As far as I am aware, that system was unique, and it fulfilled its purpose thoroughly. I was also a great admirer of what the Dutch were doing in the way of promoting agriculture and other forms of industry by means of scientific research and by the application of scientific methods generally. In that sphere there could, to my mind, be no denying that the Dutch were furnishing an example to the rest of the world in so far as tropical countries were concerned. It is unutterably saddening to reflect that all of this magnificent administrative and other work is now being undone.

by the Japanese vandals who have recently overrun Netherlands India and who are leaving their detestable trail all over that once fortunate region. We can only comfort ourselves with the thought that the hour of reckoning approaches for them, no less than for the German vandals in Europe, and that in due course—the process may be slow, but it will be sure and ineluctable—the Dutch will be enabled to resume once again the beneficent and civilizing task in the performance of which they have been so brutally interrupted.

I need scarcely say that, in addition to the three Governors-General whom I have mentioned, I came into contact with a number of other prominent personalities during my sojourn of eleven years or so in Netherlands India. For example, I was privileged to know that distinguished colonial statesman, Mr Welter, whom I first met when he was General Secretary to the Government, afterwards, he became Vice President of the Council of India and later still Minister of the Colonies in Holland. For his constant helpfulness and for his friendly attitude towards me I shall always acknowledge a debt of gratitude to him. Other Vice-Presidents of the Council of India with whom I was acquainted were Lieutenant-General Swart, Dr Moresco, Mr Creutzberg, Mr Bodenhausen, Mr van der Bussche, and Dr Meijer Ranneft. I also knew Dr van Mook, the present Minister of the Colonies, who in those days ('tempo dulu,' as they call it in Malay) was a brilliant young official, already marked out for high promotion, in the Department of the Interior. My official duties brought me into frequent contact with Mr Mouw, the head of the Bureau for Chinese Affairs, and a predecessor of Mr Lovinck, who is now the Dutch Ambassador at Chungking. Mr Lovinck was then already known to me, and another of my acquaintances in the same Bureau was Mr de Kat Angelino, whom I was to meet again in later years when he was Director of the Department of Education. Other friends of mine in the ranks of the higher officials were that distinguished and witty jurist Dr van Kan, whom I first met when he was at the head of the Law School at Batavia, and who subsequently became a member of the Council of India, Mr Hillen, the first Governor of West Java, Mr Erdbrinck, whom I knew both as General-Secretary to the Government and as Member of the Council of India, Mr Hardeman, who was then Director of Education, and Mr Muhlenfeldt, who became the head of the Department of the Interior. I was also well acquainted with Professor Schrieké, who was Mr Hardeman's successor, and with Mr G H C Hart, who filled, I understand, but after my time, the post of Director of the Department of Commerce and Industry, but who, when I first knew him, was the representative of the "Ondernemersbond" or Federation of Dutch East Indian Industry and Commerce. All who knew him must mourn his recent untimely death. And there were many other Netherlands Indian officials whom I knew, and liked and respected. To give the names of all of them would take up too much time and would, moreover, tax my memory severely at this late date. I was likewise acquainted with a succession of Commanders-in-Chief of the Army, though I saw less of them than of my other friends, since their headquarters were not at Batavia but at Bandoeng. A future 'Legercommandant' in those days who was well known to me was the present Lieutenant-General ter Poorten, he was at the head of the Dutch East Indian Army at the time of the Japanese invasion and is now, alas! a prisoner of war in the hands of the enemy. He was a promising young captain when I first made his acquaintance, but he became a major soon afterwards, and he was a most amusing and vivacious companion.

I was, not unnaturally, more in touch with the Navy than with the Army, and among my most valued Dutch friends were two of the naval Commanders-in-Chief in the persons of Vice-Admiral Gooszen and Vice Admiral ten Broecke Hoekstra. Admiral Gooszen was a typical sailor, jovial and breezy, he never failed to raise a laugh, and I have the most pleasant recollections of him and of his family whilst they were at Batavia. Admiral ten Broecke Hoekstra, who was a bachelor, was a very entertaining conversationalist. I also knew slightly Rear Admiral Doorman, the hero of the naval battle of the Java Sea, he was then a senior lieutenant.

I knew also Mr Schumann, the first to be appointed President of the Volksraad, and his talented wife, who was a pillar of the Batavian "Kunstkring," the artistic circle which used to organize concerts regularly, I have enjoyed many of them,

and can testify to the high standard of music which they maintained. I was likewise acquainted with Mr Schumann's successor, Mr Neyzell de Wilde, concerning whom I will relate to you the following amusing story. Mr Neyzell de Wilde had only just taken up his new post and was not yet familiar with persons and faces in local society. I was then living in a house next to that of Mr Grosskamp, the head of the "Factorij"—that is to say, of the Netherlands Trading Society. Mr Neyzell de Wilde had set out to return a call which I had made upon him when he happened to be out, so that he had never seen me, owing to an unfortunate error he presented himself at the residence of Mr Grosskamp, was duly admitted, and was received by that gentleman and by his wife. Neither the Grosskamps nor Mr Neyzell de Wilde had met before, whilst, as I have said, the latter had never seen myself. A conversation then ensued in the English language and without any names being mentioned. The talk soon languished, something was obviously wrong, and at last Mr Neyzell de Wilde came out bluntly in his native Dutch with the question, put to Mr Grosskamp 'Bent U Mijnheer Crosby?' To which the other replied 'Heelemaal niet. My name is Grosskamp' Tableau! Explanations followed, Mr Neyzell de Wilde bowed his way out and repaired to the adjoining house, where he made careful enquiry as to the identity of the occupant and, after satisfying himself that it was I who lived there, he allowed himself to be ushered in and so paid his call at long last at the right address.

Among natives of Java whom I knew were Raden Ahmad Djajadiningrat, Regent of Batavia, and subsequently a member of the Council of India (He was, if I mistake not, the first native of Java to be appointed to that high position.) I likewise knew his brother, Dr Hussain Djajadiningrat, who was Director of the Department of Education and afterwards a member of the Council of India himself. I was also on friendly terms with that delightful couple Pangeran Koesomo Joedo and his sister Miriam, and I was acquainted with the late Pangeran Ario Soeijono, whose death a short time ago we all of us lament deeply. And there was one of the sons of the Sultan of Solo, Pangeran Hadji Widjojo, who continued to send me a card of greeting every New Year long after I had taken my departure from Java.

In Dutch banking and commercial circles I had many friends, too. Among them were three Presidents of the Java Bank—Mr van Zeilunga, Mr Trip (a financier with a European reputation) and Mr van Buttingha Wicher. I was also acquainted with several Presidents of the Factorij, and two of them—Mr van Houten and Mr Grosskamp—I knew particularly well. And there were many others, bankers and merchants, too numerous for me to mention them all, but all of them kind and courteous in their attitude to me. I must not omit, however, to make allusion to Mr J. B. Aug. Kessler, the distinguished Vice President of the Anglo-Batavian Society, whom I first had the pleasure of meeting when he was on a visit to the Dutch East Indies, and to my friend Professor Oppenheim, formerly the head of the Bataafsche Petroleum Maatschappij at Batavia, whom I was delighted to meet again here in London quite recently. With respect to the British business community, with the members of which I was, of course, upon intimate terms, it would be invidious for me to mention more than one or two names. But I should like to say that one of my very good friends in those days, as now, was Mr Wykeham Price, who is a member of the Council of Netherlands House and Mayor of the Borough of Guildford, in his Java days. He was a partner in the firm of Tiedeman and van Kerchem. And, since it is Sir Edward Campbell who is in the chair, I should like to tell him that I always found good and helpful friends among the partners and assistants in his own old firm, that of Maclaine, Watson and Company, as it was called at Batavia, though it was known at Semarang under the name of McNeill and Company. There is one more name which I feel that I must mention, it is that of Lieutenant-Commander Charles Morrell, R.N.V.R., the common friend of us all who is a member of the Council of our Society, and who, when I was first introduced to him, was filling at Batavia the position of representative of the British Chamber of Commerce for the Netherlands East Indies.

Among distinguished visitors to Java in my day were Monsieur Georges Clemenceau and the well-known Indian poet, the late Dr Rabindranath Tagore.

I had for long been an admirer of those works of Rabindranath Tagore which

had been published in English and was familiar with most of them, so that it was with especial pleasure that I did my best to assist him by introducing him to the Governor-General and to other Dutch East Indian authorities, with a view to facilitating a tour which he desired to make through Java and Bali. Among the many functions which he attended was a dinner which I gave in his honour, followed by a reception, at which an address was read to him by Mr. Hardeman in his capacity of Director of Education. To this he replied with some interesting remarks bearing upon his own educational activities in India and upon his mission as a poet. I pleased him by telling him that, although I had only just met him in person, I had known him previously through his books, and in proof of what I was saying I was able to show him copies of them upon the shelves of my library. He was good enough to autograph my copy of his "Gitanjali" and, before returning to India, he presented to me the manuscript of the English translation which he had made of a poem composed by him in Bengali to celebrate his visit to Java. This poem, which is dated August 21, 1927, is entitled, "To Java from the Pilgrim from India," and begins with the lines

In a dim distant unrecorded age  
we had met, thou and I,  
When my speech became tangled in thine  
and my life in thy life"

Dr Rabindranath Tagore also sent to me afterwards from Santiniketan, the seat of the University founded by himself in Bengal, an advance printed copy of the translation of yet another of his poems composed in Java, and bearing the title "Boro-Budur". This copy was signed by the poet and sent to me in appreciation of what he was good enough to call my friendliness to him. I value highly these marks of appreciation from one of the greatest of modern poets. I saw Dr. Tagore for the last time on his return to Batavia from Bali, and I was interested to learn from one of his travelling companions that, in spite of much debasement, the Brahministic religion as still practised in Bali retains certain primitive characteristics which are no longer observable in India to-day. For example, images of the gods are not exhibited and each shrine is left empty, the presence of the god king immanent but not actually portrayed, whilst the sole offering placed before the shrine may consist of a single flower. This custom, I was told, goes back to Vedic times.

Before I forget to do so I may observe that the British community at Batavia is a very old one, in the sense that it has a corporate life dating back for well over a hundred years. Its social activities centre around the Batavia Cricket Club, an institution of very long standing so named, I suppose, because it was founded originally for the benefit of lovers of cricket. It developed later into a social and country club where other games could also be played, and it is now called affectionately by its members (I do not know for what reason) "The Box". There is also a church belonging to the British Protestant Community, the centenary of which was celebrated whilst I was Consul-General.

## WAR FINANCE IN INDIAN STATES

(By A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT)

In the course of a survey of post-war reconstruction problems in India it was pointed out, in the last issue of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*, that the return of peace, according to present estimates, will find the Government of India in possession of sterling balances probably amounting to about £700,000,000, and that, adding capital available in

India for future investment, approximately £1,000,000,000 will have accumulated to finance the many schemes for rehabilitation and development which it will then be opportune to carry through. Palpably this immense accumulation of capital represents an entirely unprecedented occurrence in India's financial history. And it is clear that its profitable and equitable utilization will necessitate the inclusion of the Indian States, as well as the British India Provinces, in order to ensure the balanced development of the country's economic resources which the various capital projects under consideration should be designed to promote. Admittedly the Indian States, within the limits of their resources, are making at least a proportionate contribution to the war effort to which this accumulation of capital is ultimately traceable. They are also sharing the temporary disabilities arising from the inflationary influences our own war expenditure in India has set in motion. And full weight should be given to both these factors when the compensatory benefits, which should follow the return of peace, reach the stage of distribution. Certainly a Federal Government, of the fully representative character contemplated under the Act of 1935, would have framed its post war development programmes on the All India basis thus suggested. And there is no sound reason, political or economic, for departing from this basic principle, despite the unhappy failure, notwithstanding Lord Linlithgow's valiant efforts, to establish such a constitutional organism before the war started.

Meanwhile, as the maldistribution of food supplies has sharply reminded us, India is liable to acute suffering unless it functions as one economic unit. The problems of production, of distribution, of development, and of social and economic welfare generally are of the same character regardless of administrative and political boundaries. Consequently the ameliorative or constructive measures applied must be broadly similar in character, and, if concurrent progress is to be assured, should go simultaneously in operation. If, for example, rural reconstruction is engaging the attention of the Provincial Administrations in British India, the same problems are receiving the same consideration, and much the same solutions, in neighbouring States. In Hyderabad, as one gathers from the latest Administration Report, the attention of Rural Reconstruction Societies is wholly concentrated on developing the productive resources of the villages by popularizing better methods of farming and animal husbandry, rural industries, rural credit and marketing. The whole scheme of rural uplift is based on the fundamental principle that material and economic development should precede social and cultural progress. Any attempts at tackling the problems of sanitation, better housing, literacy, etc., are bound to prove short lived, unless made in an environment which is sufficiently advanced materially to shoulder the consequent economic burden. The urge for better living must be spontaneous and lead to voluntary effort, whereas a code of living superimposed from outside, it is felt, will necessarily prove abortive. Poverty, or defective production of wealth, coupled with indebtedness, is the real curse of village life, and needs to be tackled before attempting to improve the outward appearance of the village or to raise the intellectual standard of its people. 'This does not, however, mean,' it is emphasized, 'that the various aspects of rural life which fall under the category of better living are being ignored, though it is admitted that, on principle, they are given a position of secondary importance in the programme. The Departments of Health, Education and Local Funds are as keenly interested in the improvement of the physical and intellectual condition of the villages and are as intimately associated with all activities connected with rural uplift such as those concerned with the development of its farming and business sides.' On the other hand, 'the rural reconstruction worker cannot lose sight of the fact that permanent values cannot be contributed to this side of rural life unless and until the villagers themselves fully realize their stake in the moral and material well being of the village and come forward spontaneously to make their own contribution to it.' It is encouraging to learn that the results obtained during the last four years in the majority of selected villages are decidedly promising. 'The problem of rural reconstruction,' it is insisted, 'is essentially a problem of increased production. It is only when something is left over and above what is required to satisfy the necessities of life that a farmer and his wife will be able to incur expenditure on cultural requirements such

as a decent house, education of children, amusement, travel, etc.—things which are envisaged by the term 'better living'."

Research is evolving new crop strains, and 4,395 demonstration plots are utilized to induce the cultivators to apply the improvements in yield and quality so secured. In this field of activity the cultivation of sugar-cane, groundnut, bajra, rice, cotton and wheat and the use of improved manures, fertilizers and agricultural implements rank among the advances recorded. A number of other agricultural improvements like grading of seeds and manufacture of yarn have also begun to find a place in the general practice of the cultivators. Co-operative societies now number 4,251, supported by 172,532 members, with a working capital of about three crores. Under the Nizamsagar project the number of acres irrigated has increased in ten years from 9,965 to 109,932, while the Wyra project brings in a further 14,000 acres and the Palair project over 10,000.

Industries in Hyderabad include cement, with an output of over 150,000 tons; textile mills, with an output of over 25 million lbs of yarn and 67 million yards of cloth, cigarette factories producing over 1,324 million cigarettes a year, ginning and pressing factories handling over 500,000 bales, a growing number of oilseed expellers and ghannies, and factories for the production of paint and varnish, buttons, glass, biscuits, sugar, paper, matches, and other products. The total number of factories is 629, employing a daily average of 42,219 workers. The amount of coal worked in 1941 was 1,301,377 tons, of which 823,584 were exported. The State Railways operate a total mileage of 1,360 out of a total of 1,473, including the lines owned and worked by foreign railways. The bus service operates over a route mileage of 4,057, covering nearly three fourths of the trunk roads within the Dominions. Very shortly Hyderabad will have telephone trunk line connections with all trade and industrial centres in India as well as overseas. At a later stage it is planned to connect all important towns in the State with each other and with the capital, by means of trunk lines. The new medium wave transmitting station at Aurangabad broadcasts programmes both in Urdu and Marathi and has proved very popular. News bulletins have aroused special interest, and it is reported that the masses are becoming increasingly news minded and thousands of people gather at the news hour round about the public radio stations set up by the Government as well as in restaurants and other entertainment houses to get news—particularly war news. Special programmes in honour of great Indian poets and religious leaders have also proved popular.

During a period of stress and strain, of shortage of foodstuffs and high prices of essentials of life having its repercussions all over India, Indian States generally have adopted measures to suit their own natural economy whereby the effect of high prices and shortage has not been felt in the same manner as it has been felt in many parts of British India. It cannot be denied that in certain deficit States the situation has been very critical. But on the whole the position in Indian States generally has been considerably better, and this is mainly due to foresight, forward planning, careful regulation of sales and consumption and effective measures against profiteering.

Hyderabad has led other Indian States and even British India by setting up the Hyderabad Commercial Corporation, which is not a profit-making organization, but whose operations are intended to secure better distribution of foodstuffs and other essentials in the State at the cheapest possible price. The Corporation has made suitable arrangements with the State Bank to obtain necessary funds at a reasonable rate of interest. It will be in charge of export and import on behalf of the Government, and thus save the consumers both in Hyderabad and abroad from the profits of the middlemen. Besides foodstuffs, the Corporation will also procure standard cloth and arrange its distribution amongst the people.

Besides the Corporation there is a Department of Price Control set up by the Hyderabad State, whose functions are fixing the prices of commodities, increasing the number of cheap grain shops, determining what are known as surplus, sufficient, or deficit areas, and fixing the qualities of grains that could be purchased in different markets without disturbing the requirements of areas served by these markets.

In Mysore State revenues during the last financial year reached a new high level,

but this may not be maintained "While we may congratulate ourselves on the fact that our revenue has passed the six crore level," said the acting Dewan at the budget session of the Mysore Representative Assembly, "we should not forget that this has been brought about chiefly by causes which are of an adventitious and abnormal character, and we should see that the distinction between normal income and income due to temporary causes is not obscured or overlooked" One of the abnormal factors thus emphasized was a revenue of a crore of rupees from the duty on gold against an expected yield of less than one fourth of that total, due of course to the high prices realized for gold during a very exceptional year As elsewhere in India, food production and distribution have presented problems of peculiar complexity and difficulty Under the 'Grow More Food' scheme, 171,281 acres have been granted for cultivation, but only about 57,860 acres have actually been brought under cultivation so far A larger extent could not be ploughed owing to unfavourable seasonal conditions and other causes It is somewhat discouraging to learn that, although the beds of breached tanks in the Irwin Canal area have been made available for temporary cultivation the raiyats have not so far shown as much keenness as was expected to avail themselves of this facility to any considerable extent Government, the acting Dewan states, "has been doing all that is possible to increase the area under cultivation It would seem, however, that the ability of the raiyats to cultivate the lands has not been commensurate with the eagerness with which they acquired them" This is unfortunate, inasmuch as, while the State is normally self-sufficient in ragi, the failure of rains in certain ragi growing areas last year resulted in a serious shortage of production, and in any event in present circumstances no area in India can afford to grow less than its maximum level of food grains Despite special inducements, only 3,847 acres had been sown with irrigated ragi at the end of last March As regards rice, production has always fallen short, and Mysore has normally imported 54,000 tons a year The Government of Madras allowed the State a quota of 40,000 tons (subsequently reduced to 30,000 tons), and the State authorities were endeavouring to secure a larger quota Meanwhile the Government of India decided to centralize control over the supply and distribution of rice, and as Madras refused further exports the problem was referred to the Central Government The latter have given Mysore a quota of 12,000 tons of wheat and 3,000 tons of wheat products for 1943-44, and consignments against this quota are being received Negotiations are proceeding for the import of other foodstuffs in exchange for jaggery, jola and other commodities and action has been taken to conserve available stocks by restricting export from the State of paddy, rice, etc Measures have also been taken to secure an equitable distribution of essential food grains in the State and to discourage conditions favourable to the development of black markets Grain Purchasing Officers have been appointed at important centres for the purchase of ragi, rice and jola, and emergency depots have been opened which not only serve to keep the fair price depots, of which there are now one or more in every district and taluk headquarters and other important centres, adequately supplied, but also to prevent the development of black markets Transport arrangements affecting food distribution were improved with the co-operation of the military authorities, and urban rationing was introduced To quote the acting Dewan 'The rationing scheme came into operation in Bangalore from January 29 (1943) and has worked fairly well so far Bangalore City was, perhaps, the first city in India to undertake rationing Recently, the Kolar Gold Field also came under rationing, not to mention several municipalities which have been working such schemes in respect of a few essential commodities It is well to remind ourselves in this connection that new laws breed new evasions, and unless the public display a high degree of civic responsibility food regulations and executive vigilance, by themselves, cannot go far"

Furthermore, in order to secure proper correlation of prices of foodstuffs in all districts, Government has assumed the responsibility of fixing prices, with due regard to the interests of producers and consumers "There has lately been an enormous rise in the level of prices of all commodities, leading to a large increase in the cost of living" The final scheme of the Government of India regarding the production and distribution of standard cloth is now in operation, and the State has agreed

to co-operate in applying the scheme in Mysore alike as regards finance and distribution. The possibilities of supplementing the supply of standard cloth by cloth woven on handlooms are also being considered.

In the industrial field the war has brought new opportunities of revival and development to Mysore as to other areas.

"The most important development under sericulture is the scheme for increasing the production of filature silk. With the stoppage of silk supplies from Japan and China, India occupies a position of very great importance for meeting the demand for high grade filature silk required for the manufacture of parachute fabric and components. Here, in Mysore, where the industry has been established for over a century and thousands of families are practising it, the possibilities of expanding the production of silk, in the interest of the war effort, have been carefully examined, and, as a result of the negotiations and discussions with the Government of India and certain private interests, it has been decided to put up about 1,500 basins, in addition to the number already at work, and to supply the entire production of silk to the Government of India. Under this expansion scheme, which has been undertaken with the co-operation and financial assistance, in part, of the Government of India, a filature of 200 basins will be put up at Kankanhalli by the Department, entirely at the cost of His Majesty's Government, the rest being installed and worked by private concerns—namely, the Mysore Silk Filatures, Limited, the Mysore Spun Silk Mills, Limited, and the Vellum Parachute Company."

Mysore industries continue to play a conspicuous and useful part in the war effort. Apart from the Forest Department and the Department of Industries and Commerce, which have taken up the execution of a large number of orders for the Supply Department of the Government of India, there are 26 industrial concerns engaged in the production of war materials, of which 9 are State-owned, 9 State aided and 8 private. The total value of war orders placed with the several large industrial concerns in the State from the outbreak of the war up to the end of March, 1943, was nearly Rs 6 50 crores, of which the value of the orders received during the first nine months of the current year was about Rs 2 20 crores. The value of the orders received by purely Government concerns, including Government Departments, was about Rs 94 lakhs, while the share of the State-aided concerns was about Rs 46 lakhs. The cottage industries in the State have also taken up a fair share of war orders.

On the very important Jog Falls hydro-electric power scheme the expenditure now to be incurred has been expanded to over four crores of rupees. This increase in the estimated cost of the scheme is due chiefly to the decision to generate 64,000 h p., to the desirability of executing at once the civil engineering works required for the expansion of the capacity of the station eventually to 128,000 h p., to the decision to generate power at a frequency of 50 cycles in accordance with modern practice and to tie it with the 25 cycle power from the Cauvery power scheme, and, lastly, to the abnormal rise in the prices of electrical equipment. Orders have been placed for nearly all the machinery and materials required, after obtaining necessary priority and import licences. Part of the equipment is expected to be received by the end of the current year. Five officers of the Department have been deputed to England to visit the factories and acquaint themselves with the erection and maintenance of the equipment ordered.

The Jog Falls hydro-electric scheme will, when completed, not only relieve the load on the Cauvery and the Shumsha power installations but will also make available a large block of power for further industrial development in the State.

In Baroda, as in Mysore, revenues are exceptionally buoyant, but the same caution is being observed, as emphasized by the Dewan at the budget session of the Dharasabha, inasmuch as the expansion is attributable to the impetus given by the war to industries, to the increased shortage of petroleum products in the Okha installation, and other factors. The Dewan's survey adduced evidence of the increased prosperity of agriculturists and, in order that the ryots can save as much as possible for their use in the lean years to come, the Government propose to increase the number of savings banks and to bring these facilities more fully to the notice of the

on a clear-cut programme, including the allocation of maximum areas to every part of the State for food crops, while special grants have been made in aid of the supply of fertilizers, irrigation and improved agricultural implements in order to promote maximum yields.

As, however, was emphasized in the opening paragraphs of this survey, it is post-war reconstruction programmes on which public attention in India is now being increasingly focused, and the full participation of the Indian States in the projects formulated—whether these deal with economic development, the expansion of food production, hydro-electric and irrigation schemes, or health measures—is of the utmost importance, and the funds available should be allocated on a federal basis, envisaging India as one economic, administrative and political unit. Diseases, poverty, and starvation are not circumscribed by frontiers, nor should the remedial measures designed to overcome them. A fundamental decision is involved here, and it is not one which can be buried. At present the formulation of post-war economic and social measures is assigned to the Viceroy's Executive Council, but it is arguable that a Federal Planning Board, assuring full representation to the States as well as to the Central Executive in British India, is desirable, if equal and concurrent progress in all parts of the country is to be guaranteed.

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## CHINESE STUDENTS IN BRITAIN

By ANN SITWELL

In a hundred mud-and-bamboo offices in the grim, war scarred capital of Chung king thousands of Chinese are working out plans for their country's future, plans which are large enough in size and scope to start a new epoch in Asia. China must be so strengthened that Japan will never again dare to offer the slightest threat. The standard of living for the four hundred million people of China must be raised. To gain these two objectives China must become industrial. Security against attack means planes, tanks, guns and railways constructed with a view to strategy as well as convenience. A higher standard of living means more food, clothes, shoes and medicine. The industrialization required will take anything up to fifty years, but it is the condition of China's future as a Great Power and a healthy, properly fed, properly housed community.

In all post war planning Sun Yat sen's book *The International Development of China* is still the most important document. The Father of the Chinese Republic combined an almost prophetic vision with a sense of the possible and practical, and he saw clearly the connection between modern communications, modern industry, and the livelihood of the people. His influence is clearly seen in the Generalissimo's book *China's Destiny*. In this book Chuang Kai-shek substitutes for Sun Yat-sen's 100,000 miles of railway, of which half is to be double tracked, a total of 20 million tons of steel, 25,000 locomotives, 300,000 freight cars and 30,000 passenger cars. In addition, a million miles of highway, needing 2 million tons of steel and half a million new automobiles every year for ten years are projected.

China's industrial goals include power plants capable of producing a total of 20 million kilowatts (one half hydraulically, the other half by fuel), 80 million telephones and 12 million miles of telephone cables requiring at least 1½ million tons of copper, 1 million new houses a year, modern furniture and sanitation industries, 320,000 cotton looms, 16,000 woollen looms, 94,000 silk looms, a precision industry that will require from the West 90,000 tools in the first five years, plus numerous other automatic machines. Chuang Kai-shek has set each Ministry in the Chinese Government to work on a five year plan for the post-war period, while immediate concrete planning is carried on by the Executive Yuan, the highest administrative agency in China.

These projects are comparable in size and ambition to the Soviet Five-Year Plans. The goals they set appear today as distant as the Russian industrial goals appeared in the early thirties. Yet there is no reason why Chinese production should not triumph over difficulties arising from lack of experience and lack of technical education. China has fewer natural resources than Soviet Russia, but enough to industrialize herself to a degree previously unknown in the Far East. North China possesses one of the largest coalfields in the world, and the rich iron deposits in Manchuria have been enormously developed by the Japanese. On the other hand, all China's pre-war industries in the coastal areas will probably be dismantled by the Japanese before they are finally driven from the territories they now occupy. China's war time industry is still very small by British, American or Russian standards. It has many achievements to its credit, including an annual production of 10 million gallons of fuel alcohol and substantial quantities of cotton cloth, rifles, trench mortars and small arms. But its steel production is only 10,000 tons a year—quite inadequate for supplying the aircraft, tanks and guns required by the Chinese forces. Without the participation of foreign capital, plant and technique, progress which could be accomplished in fifteen years might well take fifty. The rôle of foreign capital, as of private capital in China, is a problem still under consideration, and beset with difficulties. Foreign trade, on the other hand, is obviously indispensable to China's economic development, and there will undoubtedly be a great opportunity for the recovery and expansion of British export trade with China. British industries can supply the machinery, machine tools, railway and other transport vehicles which China will have to buy from abroad. It is still doubtful whether cotton and woollen goods will be regarded by the Chinese Government as necessary, but it is certain that there is still an effective demand for them. This cannot yet be met by local production, and many Chinese merchants and dealers will be in favour of resuming importations. On the whole the short term outlook for these goods, from a British point of view, is good, and the re-establishment of Anglo-Chinese trade is essential to the economic future of both nations.

Trade and industry are bound up together in China's post war outlook, and Western technique is quite as important an article of import as Western machine goods. Here again Britain can make a contribution vital to Chinese development. China has the difficult task of training a generation of technicians. The plans require at least 110,000 civil engineers, 41,000 mechanical engineers, 230,000 doctors, 25,000 architects and a host of other specialists. These figures do not include foremen or skilled labourers, who will be needed in very large numbers. The Chinese Government has made a determined start by encouraging scientific research in many directions, and no time is lost in applying its results to industry and agriculture. Research centres and field laboratories have been set up in all parts of Free China, and work on fuel technology has been remarkably successful. Chinese chemists have succeeded in producing fuel for combustion engines by cracking tung oil, and another branch of fuel technology is in production of power alcohol in thousands of small alcohol plants. In Chungking a synthetic ammonia plant has been set up, and the Chinese have willingly accepted the advice of Allied chemical experts.

China's younger generation is assimilating the idea of what Chinese technicians call 'the second industrial revolution,' the age of power-driven machinery. The present generation of Chinese is growing up machine-minded. Students tend to choose scientific rather than literary subjects, and are more interested in applied science than in pure science. Engineering and chemistry are two of the most popular subjects, which also include metallurgy, shipbuilding and planning economics. As everyone knows, Chinese universities and colleges were singled out as special objectives for Japanese bombing during the early years of the war. Students and teachers have triumphed over endless difficulties and have endured great hardships in their struggle to continue their studies in freedom. The long trek—sometimes one thousand, sometimes two thousand, miles—from occupied China to the west ranks as one of the great victories of the human spirit. But the students and teachers would be the last to claim that their present educational conditions are adequate. It should be remembered, too, that, however heroically the personnel of Chinese universities have overcome the dislocating effects of war, China's enforced isolation

has cut her off from the newest discoveries and developments in Western industry and engineering method. There are about 10,000 to 15,000 skilled engineers and scientists in China who understand Western technique—a tiny proportion of her huge population. These trained technicians must be increased and scattered throughout the universities and new plants in such a way that their numbers will be raised to over a million. Chinese engineers, machinists and workmen must gradually learn to reproduce the durable goods at first imported. For these reasons a scheme is going forward, which may well have far-reaching effects on Chinese industry and on Anglo-Chinese relations, under which Chinese post graduate students will have opportunities of learning Western industrial technique in British factories. The scheme is not new, for several years after the last war isolated arrangements were made by a few British engineering manufacturers to give training in their works to Chinese students as a means of developing future business relations with China. It was not until 1931, however, that such efforts were co-ordinated. In this year, the British Economic Mission which had returned from the Far East recommended that Chinese students should be encouraged to study in British workshops, while the passing of the China Indemnity (Application) Act provided for the disposal of part of the remitted Boxer Indemnity Funds for education purposes. The Federation of British Industries were impressed with the need for developing closer technical and cultural relations with China in view of her impending industrial development, growing demand for trained engineers, and the tendency for her import trade to pass more and more into Chinese hands.

The Federation accordingly appointed a Committee in 1931 and drew up a scheme which was approved by the Universities China Committee, who guaranteed to the Federation for the purpose of the scheme a grant of £500 per annum for five years out of the endowment which the Universities China Committee had received from the remitted Boxer Indemnity Funds. This grant was subsequently renewed and the scheme was further developed with the aid of additional grants from the British Council and the Board of Trustees of the British Remitted Chinese Indemnity Fund, Chungking, as well as the maintenance allowances paid by the British manufacturers concerned. The present arrangement is that the scheme is administered by the F.B.I., the engineering firms pay the apprentices at normal rates, and the British Council, the Universities China Committee and the Chinese Government make grants to ensure the full maintenance of the students in reasonable comfort. The Chinese Government also defrays all travelling expenses between China and Britain.

Applications for apprenticeship are made through the Chinese universities to the Chinese Ministry of Education, which submits the more promising cases to the Anglo-Chinese Selection Committee in Chungking. This consists of Chinese and British representatives nominated by the Chinese Ministry of Education and the British Embassy in Chungking. The students must be under thirty years of age, holding degrees in engineering and intending to take up careers in China on the completion of their training. They must also be able to speak and write English. They are free to choose whichever branch of engineering they wish to be trained in, whether mechanical, electrical or civil, the scheme is only limited by the number of vacancies available in British works, with due regard to the prospects of suitable employment for the apprentices on their return to China. Fifty-eight apprentices had been trained or were in course of training in Britain before the outbreak of the European war in 1939, forty three have returned to China, and the remaining fifteen are now employed by British engineering firms and entirely supporting themselves. Thirty-one new students have arrived this autumn, and thirty-two more vacancies in well known British engineering firms have been offered. These students have come from universities which have been evacuated, sometimes several times, from the Japanese occupied provinces. Some of them travelled immense distances into the interior of China to continue their studies in freedom. They sent such equipment and apparatus as could be saved by rail, lorry and river where possible, but many of them walked the whole way. Mr Liang Yuan Chi, of Chekiang University, made most of his 2,000-mile journey to Western China on foot. "It was very hard," he said, with a cheerful smile, "and we were often very tired. But we were happy. We knew we were going to be free." Students and teachers suffer from lack of

accommodation as well as equipment. They are housed sometimes in deserted temples, in mud huts, even in caves. At Kunming the universities of Peiping, Nankai and Tsing Hua have been amalgamated to form the National Associated South Western Universities. All the departments are housed in hutments made of mud brick, roofed simply with tiles on tin sheets, the floors are made of beaten earth, into which are built large petrol drums. Into these all the most valuable apparatus is lowered during air raids. This is only one of the innumerable difficulties against which Chinese education must contend, but the students have learned to take them in their stride, and they have acquired a confidence and serenity remarkable in young people in a strange country for the first time.

Another group of post-graduate students have come to Britain to undergo practical training in engineering and other trades. The British Council has granted a number of scholarships tenable in British universities, and the students are chosen on the results of an examination organized by the Chinese Ministry of Education. To qualify for this examination each student is required to be a university graduate of at least two years' experience.

Four of the eleven students who have already arrived are chemists who will study British methods of chemical production at universities and colleges suited to their qualifications, and by spending a period in British factories. Mr Loo Ti Li is interested particularly in the synthesis of anti malaria drugs, and is working at Magdalen College, Oxford, under Professor Sir Robert Robinson. Mr Tsao Pung Hyi, a chemical engineer, is attached to the department of chemical technology at the Imperial College of Science and Technology.

Mr S S Yuan is working for a M Sc in Naval Architecture at Liverpool University. He was an assistant in the civil engineering department of the National South West Associated University, and has been working for some time as associate engineer at the Bureau of Transportation in China. His wife, who has accompanied him to Britain, is also a civil engineer who has worked in the Bridge Designing Office of the Chinese Ministry of Communications. She is now working for an M Sc in bridge building at Liverpool University.

W T Lyn, formerly a technician of the Fifth Army, and later assistant of the National South West Associated University, is studying mechanical engineering at King's College, London University. Miss H L Liu, daughter of the Chinese Counsellor in Moscow, who travelled from Russia by way of Persia and the Cape, is taking an engineering degree at the University of Birmingham.

All these students have come here with a twofold purpose. In the first place, they have come to learn their trade and to acquire knowledge of and familiarity with British chemical and engineering practice and equipment which will enable them to benefit from our war time experience. The training will be valuable in equipping them as fully trained engineers, chemists, technicians, for reconstruction work in China.

These young Chinese believe that industrialization<sup>is</sup> absolutely essential to the future of their country. Fully aware of their responsibilities in this dynamic period in China's history, they are united in a resolve to work for Chinese reconstruction with the ultimate aim of raising the standard of living for her people. No one can doubt that the great plan for China's industrial development will succeed when these students, representing all that is best in China's youth, intensely practical in their outlook, are eager and willing to dedicate their lives, their intelligence, their energy to the service of their countrymen.

There is an international as well as national aspect of the work of Chinese students in this country. They have come not only as apprentices, but as unofficial ambassadors. "We hope to make as many contacts and as many friendships in Britain as we can," said Mr King Sing Yui, a graduate of Hong Kong University, now working in General Electric Co., Ltd., Birmingham, "and there will be thousands more like us." He was expressing the feeling of all his fellow students as he went on to say that China and Britain must remain allies when the war is over. War has deepened a friendship of long standing between the two countries, and that friendship and co-operation must continue as a necessary guarantee of permanent peace.

## ASIA ON THE AIR A RADIO REVIEW

By WINIFRED HOLMES

HOME broadcasting has served China well these past three months. As the Chinese National Day—"The Double Tenth" (the tenth day of the tenth month)—fell on Sunday, October 10, the BBC took the opportunity of putting on a Chinese Postscript.

The speaker was appropriately an unnamed Chinese student, "one of thousands who graduate every year in China, and one of the few fortunate hundreds who come abroad for study." His theme was that out of the revolution of October 10, 1911, when the Chinese Republic was born, a nation has evolved which is totally different from the common Western misconception of an ancient civilization of exquisite porcelain, fierce bandits and great philosophers.

It is very important for the Chinese that we should abandon this misconception and recognize that upon the foundation of ancient Chinese culture and tradition Western ideas and ways have been grafted to stem a new civilization which will flower into something vital to the world now the "sorrows within" are over and once the "troubles without" have been dispelled.

But the process is still painful. The speaker voiced the dilemma of his contemporaries. "I was born in the first year of the Republic, brought up in the conservative family life of a southern village, educated in the new Shanghai schools. Which China do I belong to?" Finally he made a plea for real co-operation from the West based, not upon "a sudden burst of sentimentality, but on an attempt to know the real China at first hand."

On the same day Lee Lian Chye gave a gramophone recital of Chinese music with a regrettably superficial explanatory text. It was interesting to Western listeners, however, to hear that in China the human voice is considered 'the most perfect musical instrument' and that few pieces are without it.

Dr George Yeh, in the Brains Trust, analysed the difference between the ancient Chinese and Western civilizations. As the former is based on *Li*, 'the art of life, and the latter on law, Chinese civilization might be called humanistic, and Western civilization legalistic.' He considered, too, that Confucianism, eminently suitable to an agrarian society, is perhaps not entirely applicable to an industrial economy, and that a new set of ethics should evolve from it, applicable to a society pledged to raise the standard of living of every individual in the country.

The lack of space devoted to India was redeemed by Sir Frederick Whyte's clear exposition of Professor Coupland's thesis for a solution of the political deadlock, which he gave after the 9 p.m. news on November 26. As Professor Coupland's book is reviewed elsewhere in this journal, it would be idle to do more than note that the speaker did a brilliant job of simplifying a highly complex theme for a public unfamiliar on the whole with the Indian Constitution and intricate political scene.

Mr Chinna Durai talked again about the extraordinary interest in India he finds while lecturing to the Forces, combined with a still more extraordinary ignorance. Here are two questions from W.A.A.F. audiences. "The Indians are good at telling fortunes, so are the gypsies, are they related?" and, "If the Untouchables can become Christians and lose their untouchability, why don't they become Brahmins?"

## INDIAN AIR TRAINING IN HYDERABAD

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT)

THE Osmania University Centre of the Indian Air Training Corps, which was established about three months ago, held its first passing-out parade last June. This Centre is the second of its kind to be opened in India. It aims at making young Hyderabadi air-minded and gives the undergraduates of the University an opportunity of obtaining pre Service training which will enable them to seek admission, if they so desire, to the Indian Air Force, which gives them special preference over other candidates. The cadets while under training receive a stipend of Rs 20 per month.

Air-Commodore Vincent of the R A F, who took the salute at the march past and awarded certificates of proficiency to the cadets who had qualified at the examination held on the completion of their training course, in a short address, said that Indian boys who wish to join the Air Force should not be afraid of beginning at the bottom of the ladder as they had every chance of rising to commissioned ranks. Quoting his own career as an example, he said that he had also started at the bottom and climbed up to the rank which he now held. There was no reason why young men who join non-commissioned ranks should not also rise to high commissioned ranks. In the post-war period, he said, the cadets who are trained now have greater chances of joining civil aviation, which has great possibilities of development in India.

The Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the University, in a speech reviewing the development of the scheme, stated that the cadets applied themselves to the training with great zeal, and that he expected that Osmania students would join this training in greater numbers when the course reopened in the following month.

All the cadets who were under training passed the qualifying examination and appeared before the Interviewing Board of the Indian Air Force. It is understood that a large number of cadets have been recommended by the Board for admission to both the commissioned and non-commissioned ranks of the I A F.

## THE BARODA SQUADRON DINNER, 1943

THE generous gifts by H H the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda to the Baroda Squadron of the Royal Air Force have been greatly appreciated by the officers and men. An opportunity to express their appreciation was offered by the dinner, presided over by Sir Frank Brown on behalf of His Highness, held at the rooms of the Royal Empire Society on December 15. The occasion, which brought together both past and present pilots of the Squadron, was obviously a happy reunion of them, several had made very long journeys to be present. The pilots were delighted to have with them as honoured guests three officers of the India Air Force at present in Britain—Squadron-Leader Rabindra Singh, Flying-Officer C D Subia, and Flying-Officer G S Paul. Other guests were Mr L S Amery, Secretary of State for India, Sir Samuel Runganadhan, High Commissioner for India, Major-General Sir Frederick Sykes, Sir W Buchanan Smith, Secretary-General of the Royal Empire Society, Captain S T Binstead, Mysore Trade Commissioner, and Mr Goodchild, India Office. Lord Stansgate sent his regrets at being unable to be present.

Mr L S Amery, proposing the toast of H H the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, said he was one of the most distinguished members among the ruling Princes of India, whom the people of this country heard much less about than of some other



FIG. 1—THE PASSING OUT PARADE OF CADETS TRAINED AT THE OSMANIA UNIVERSITY CENTRE OF THE INDIAN AIR TRAINING CORPS

This centre is the second of its kind to be opened in India.



FIG. 2—THE BEST CADET AT THE OSMANIA UNIVERSITY CENTRE RECEIVES A PRIZE FROM AIR COMMODORE VINCENT



elements in India. The Princes had played a big part in Indian history, and would have a still bigger part to play. A glance at the map would indicate the importance of the States in relation to air-strategy alone. The Princes were loyal to the conception of the British Commonwealth, and they had a personal loyalty to their friends, which in these days might by some be considered old-fashioned and mediæval. Mr Amery then reviewed some of the generous gifts to Britain from all quarters of India, including the Indian States, and the State of Baroda itself. He recalled that these gifts came even more generously at the time when Britain was being most severely attacked by enemy aircraft, he recalled also that the Middle East could not have been saved, when Wavell was surrounded by the enemy, except for the magnificent support of the 4th and 5th Indian Divisions. Looking to the future, Mr Amery said that he had a reasonable confidence that in the days of peace India would find by compromises a basis to launch herself out on an equality with Britain. That at least was the hope he cherished.

Referring to the generous host of the evening, the Secretary of State said that Baroda had a distinguished history. The present ruler's grandfather was one of the most remarkable men that India produced in the last generation, he had introduced universal education into the State long before it was considered in the rest of India. The present ruler, concluded Mr Amery, had already done much for the State, and in conferring benefits on its people.

Sir Frank Brown, replying to the toast, as one entrusted by His Highness to organize the gift he had sent to the Squadron, mentioned that last year also His Highness had sent a present of £500. It was thought last year that some part of this generous gift might well be devoted to promoting the comradeship of members of the Squadron, and a dinner for all ranks had been held at the Squadron's station. This year there had been a party on December 2 for the Squadron as a whole, and the present dinner, for the pilots of the Squadron, had also been arranged. Sir Frank mentioned that from the gift there had also been provided for the Squadron tankards with the Baroda crest, tea-urns, and portraits of prominent members of the Squadron, including one of the present Squadron Leader, this reference to whom was loudly applauded by the company. Sir Frank also mentioned that out of the gift certain sums had been provided for the young families of members of the Squadron who had been killed in action. In the organizing of the gifts received from His Highness, Sir Frank emphasized the splendid support he had received from Mr Goodchild, of the India Office.

Sir Samuel Runganadhan, proposing the toast of the Squadron, said that its crest, the mongoose, and its motto, 'Danger is our opportunity,' were quite appropriate to their brave record of activity against the enemy. Mentioning the records of many of the members of the Squadron, Sir Samuel referred in happy terms to the extremely youthful appearance of the present Commanding Officer, Squadron-Leader T Balmforth, D F C, of whom it had been officially cited that he has "displayed coolness and enthusiasm which have set a magnificent example to others".

The Squadron, said Sir Samuel, had won the pride and gratitude of the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, as well as of all Sir Samuel's fellow-countrymen in India. All the Squadrons of the Royal Air Force were a constant source of inspiration to the Indian Air Force and the youth of India.

Squadron-Leader T Balmforth, replying to the toast on behalf of the Squadron, modestly said that all members had tried to do well, and were very grateful for what His Highness had done for them. The former Adjutant of the Squadron, Flying-Officer R J S Ayres, in proposing the toast of the Guests, said that the Squadron much appreciated that such a busy man as the Secretary of State for India should give up a whole evening to be present, he described Sir Frederick Sykes as the foster-father of the Royal Air Force, and mentioned that Sir Frederick's pilot's certificate was Number 95. On behalf of the Squadron, Flying-Officer Ayres paid a tribute to the constant devotion to their interests shown by Sir Frank Brown and Mr Goodchild.

Sir Frederick Sykes asked Sir Frank Brown to let His Highness know about this wonderful evening, which had proved a real off-night. Sir Frederick recalled that he had helped in some small way to establish the Indian Air Force.

He recalled also what that wonderful Service, the R A F, did in its beginnings in the last war. There were, no doubt, many members of the Baroda Squadron who would want to be returning to civil life after the war, but he asked those who might want to follow up after the war to think of civil aviation, and to remember that for British civil aviation nothing but the best, in men, machines, and organization, would suffice.

The pilots of the Squadron, as the guests of His Highness, were accommodated for the night at the rooms of the Royal Empire Society.

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## CAIRO AND AFTER

By H. VERE REDMAN

THE most important achievement of the Cairo Conference was that about which the general public knows little or nothing—namely, the drafting of the actual strategical plans for the complete military defeat of Japan. For obvious reasons military plans cannot be revealed even in the most general terms. We know no more after Cairo than before as to whether, and to what extent, ‘island hopping’ is to continue in the Pacific war, or what part combined operations, a kind of warfare of which Admiral Mountbatten is an eminent exponent, is to play in the final assault. We are, however, assured that at Cairo, as at Teheran, concrete and detailed plans were laid for the necessary operations.

It is against this background, dim though it must necessarily be, that we should see the other achievements of Cairo and Mr Eden’s speech in the House of Commons on his return, achievements of clarification of the policies and responsibilities of the three major Powers engaged in the Far Eastern war. That clarification, though not equally important to military plans, is certainly not without significance. For in all countries the intensity of war effort must inevitably depend on clear realization of war aims and responsibilities.

The aims now are clear, as they were not perhaps clear before. The representatives of all three Powers had done lip-service to such slogans as breaking completely the Japanese potentiality for evil, but now we know what this means in concrete territorial terms.

The main beneficiary of this dotting of the territorial “i’s” is China. It is now clearly stated that all the fruits of Japanese aggression against her since 1894 are to be restored. Other restorations are not specifically mentioned, they can be taken for granted. But in the case of China it would be idle to pretend that there were not some doubts in some people’s minds as to whether it was the Allies’ intention to restore to her all the fruits of Japanese aggressions, particularly the earlier ones.

Those doubts are now removed, and while their removal represents a triumph at once for international justice and Chinese diplomacy, it represents also a challenge to China to even further effort in the common cause. She is now publicly and unequivocally assured that this common cause is pre-eminently hers, and that must prove an inspiration to her leaders and her fighting forces to redouble and to concentrate their efforts against the enemy.

From the British point of view there is another achievement of the Conference and particularly from Mr Eden’s interpretation thereof in his speech before the House of Commons. Mr Eden pointed out that the Conference served as a reaffirmation that we are “principals in the Far Eastern war,” as in the European war, and not in any sense playing the part of benevolent assistant. That reaffirmation may not have been necessary either for our Allies or for ourselves. But no harm is done by having the issue so clearly stated. For more than four years that they have borne constantly the burdens of a major war. There is a

can bear if they are told clearly what is required of them. There is nobody in the country who is not willing to rise to the occasion represented by a global war and to play his part in it in whatever theatre is necessary. But it is desirable, in the absence of such a permanent threat to his personal survival as is represented by Nazi Germany, that he should be reminded of the precise nature of those global responsibilities. And this the Cairo Conference and Mr Eden have done.

In the final analysis, of course, British responsibilities in the Far Eastern war will be brought home to the British people more clearly than in any other way by a full understanding of Japanese plans. In this connection a Japanese broadcast from Batavia on December 6 is not without significance. It said "If Japan's constructive war object cannot be fulfilled in our time it will be carried forward to the next generation, and if it is still not done it will be turned over to succeeding generations until final victory is achieved". If ever it was necessary to demonstrate the need of the Cairo decisions this Japanese official pronouncement does the job effectively. Cairo sounded the knell of any "compromise peace" rumours. This broadcast reinforces the Japanese record throughout the past fifty years in demonstrating the need for sounding it.

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## CORRESPONDENCE

DR ELIZABETH ALEXANDER WRITES

I have read with interest the article which you published in your July issue of 1942 on "A Scottish Admirer of Ottoman Poetry".

May I, however, point out that Mr Ballister, the author of the article, has been somewhat misinformed as to the circumstances in which the E J W Gibb Memorial Trust was founded. It was Mrs Jane Gibb who was the foundress. She was the mother of E J W Gibb, and, as the late Professor E G Browne wrote in his preface as editor to Volume III of the *History of Ottoman Poetry*, "it was created and endowed by the noble generosity of Mr Gibb's mother". She also, with Professor Browne's great help, formed the valuable Trusteeship of Oriental Scholars, which is responsible for the selection of unpublished works in Turkish, Persian, Arabic and Turks, and he also undertook the editing of the remaining volumes of the *History of Ottoman Poetry*, which were left in manuscript at the time of his death. Moreover, E J W Gibb did not die, as Mr Ballister states, 'before the work had left the press'. The fact is that the first volume was published before the author died, and he was engaged in the final revision of the second volume for the press at the time when he died.

It is a pleasure to read the enthusiastic words of Mr Ballister on the translations from the Turkish poems by Gibb in the *History of Ottoman Poetry* but I regret that his selection did not include some of the greater poems translated, as they embody more of the author's philosophic outlook and sympathy with the spiritual fervour of the Sufi mystics which interested him especially.

The fact that a Turkish translation is being undertaken in Ankara University of the *History of Ottoman Poetry* is a wonderful tribute to the author's genius, and, needless to add, a great joy to his relations and friends.

ELIZABETH H ALEXANDER

December 9, 1943

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

**SIKHISM ITS IDEALS AND INSTITUTIONS** By Teja Singh (*Longmans*) 3s 6d net

(Reviewed by STANLEY RICE)

The religion of the Sikhs, which the author has called Sikhism, is an offshoot of Hinduism, but purged, as was Buddhism originally, of its grosser features, particularly of images and of caste. The Sikh religion, which is purely monotheistic, is probably the most democratic in the world. Every Sikh has a right to partake in prayer and exhortation and even himself to deliver addresses. Women are treated on an equality with men, for Guru Nanak asked, "How can they be called inferior when they give birth to the greatest men?"

The two main distinguishing features of the religion are (1) the institution of the Gurus and (2) the symbolic signs of the five K's. Guru Nanak started the religion as a quietist creed, but it was forced to become militant by the Moghul persecutions, especially under the bigoted Aurangzeb, and from that time onwards the name of Sikh has been associated with a type of soldier, conspicuous both for manly bearing and for loyalty. Guru Nanak was succeeded by eight other Gurus, each of whom, says Mr Teja Singh, inherited the spirit of his predecessor, so that there was not a succession so much as a re-incarnation. After the Ninth Guru the accumulated wisdom was enshrined in a book, the Holy Prantu Sahib, which is as dear to the Sikh as is the Old Testament to a Jew or the Koran to a Mussulman. The book is the Tenth Guru.

The book gives one an excellent insight into the essentials of the creed. As the jacket says, It gives a clear and concise account of the different sects, forms and symbols, rites and ceremonies which make the book a self-contained formulary of the Sikh religion.

**ROYAL INDIA** By Maud Diver (*Hodder and Stoughton*)

(Reviewed by CHARLES A. KINCAID, c.v.o.)

In this troubled period, when untravelled Englishmen and Americans are gravely concerned about Indian politics and parties—the Congress, the Muslim League, the Depressed Classes, Indian Christians, etc—it is delightfully restful to turn to a book from which politics are absent, for it deals with fifteen of the principal Indian States and their rulers.

Mrs Diver, as might be expected from the biographer of Honoria Lady Lawrence and the authoress of the *Desmond Saga*, has a delightfully clear, concise and attractive style, and she has picked her States with rare discrimination, regardless of pre-eminence and extent of territory. For instance, the enlightened ruler of the little State of Aundh rubs shoulders with the great princes of Hyderabad and Kolhapur. Nawansagar was chosen, not for its size, but because of the one-time ruler, the world-famous, immortal "Ranji."

Nor are the illustrations unworthy of the writer. We see interspersed among the pages the ruins of Chitor, more glorious amid its desolation than any living town in the East, the water palace of Udaipur the fort of Jodhpur, wherein was born the ever memorable General Sir Pratap Singh, the long friend of the English, and the beautiful Princess Indira of Baroda, afterwards the *Rani* of Cooch Behar, but perhaps the most wonderful of all are the pictures of Amritsar and *Ajmer*. I must add a word of appreciation of the publishers' achievement. The book is a wonderful jacket, and, above all, no "blurb." It, indeed, needs none. The print and photographs are admirably clear, and, as the book opens, the reader sees an excellent map of India. This gives him all the details needed for the understanding of this exceptional book.

BROUGHT UP IN ENGLAND By Prince Chula of Thailand (*G T Foulis*). 21s net.

(Reviewed by EDWIN HAWARD)

Prince Chula is to be congratulated on the possession of an exceptionally pleasant pen which he wields with facility. The modesty of his narrative entirely fails to conceal the charm and self-effacing wisdom of its author. Whether he is discussing his cousin's motor-racing feats, his contacts with rank and fashion and Royalty in different countries, or his happy relations with his own people, he shows no rancour, no snobbery, and it would seem that he is just as happy in the atmosphere of the Court as he is in the more democratic excitements of the racing track. He has legitimate pride in the character and achievements of his own people, and when happier times come again for Thailand it is to be hoped that his experience and, above all, his balanced judgment of Anglo-Thai relationships will be turned to good account.

As a study of social conditions the autobiography is lively, sane and sensitively reticent. Both he and his cousin married English girls and the story of their romance is told with a frankness and delicacy worthy of the subject.

There is nothing of the braggart in Prince Chula's character and his book can be read, not merely with profit in its contribution to international understanding, but with delight on account of its unaffected cheerfulness and good temper.

FORTY YEARS IN CHINA By Sir Meyrick Hewlett (*Macmillan*) 12s 6d net

(Reviewed by O M GREEN)

A British Consul who becomes a member of a Chinese secret society is decidedly an anomaly. Sir Meyrick Hewlett was not actually initiated (though he could have been) in the Kolasohui, or Elder Brothers Society, but he knew so much about them and their ritual that he was generally thought by Chinese to be a member, with considerable advantage to himself and his duties as a consul.

Herein is a pointer to the principle which ran through all Hewlett's life in China. He made up his mind early that he liked the Chinese and wished to understand and be friendly with them. His first experiences, as a student interpreter arriving in Peking just in time to go through the siege of the Legations in the Boxer year, were scarcely favourable to this line of conduct. But later Hewlett's invariable practice of laying himself out to know the Chinese officials and show that he trusted them worked like a charm.

In some particularly bad riots in Changsha, when a good deal of damage was done to foreign property, the British Consulate was untouched, and Hewlett went about the city bringing foreigners into safety without interference. At Chengtu, when a sort of triangular civil war was raging between Szechuanese, Yunnanese and Kweichow troops, Hewlett acted in some degree as a mediator, and was able to persuade the rival commanders to check their troops from looting. And at Amoy during those bad years of the anti British boycott, 1925-27, his resolute refusal to call in a gunboat and his reliance on the Chinese officials to afford protection, though highly unpopular with his countrymen, worked well little damage was done, and the trade of Amoy actually increased.

Hewlett does not spare criticism where needed—as, for example, the first frenzied anti-foreign outbursts of the students and their reckless disregard of truth and even probability in their raving against foreigners, and the unbecoming slowness of the Nationalist Government in 1928 to respond to Great Britain's magnanimous self-restraint during the venomous years of boycott and assaults on her people and their property. But his faith in the essential friendliness and soundness of the Chinese nature never failed him.

These delightful reminiscences abound in wise comment, vivid descriptions—particularly the gruesome festival of the city god at Chengtu—and humorous touches. One particularly likes the story of the Temple of Heaven tablet which Hewlett found, after the siege of the Legations, in a lumber room of the British Legation.

(No one had any idea how it got there) When Sir Ernest Satow told Prince Ch'ing that he wished to return the tablet, the Prince begged the Minister not to send it to his house as he would have to kowtow twenty-seven times every time he passed it

TALES FROM EAST AND WEST Retold by Philip Paneth (*Alliance Press*) 2s 6d net.

(Reviewed by STELLA MEAD)

Philip Paneth has chosen a happy title for his collection of stories—*Tales from East and West*. The tales, fables and fairy-tales that delight the modern child have their origin in the East—many of them in the Buddhist "Jatakas," or Birth Stories, reverently collected by the Buddha's disciples. The tales of the Buddhist Collection have a remarkable resemblance to many tales told in all parts of the world, and we know that all Western writers and translators have to acknowledge their borrowings from the East. Here in this little book Mr. Paneth gives us a selection of stories and legends from many lands, some of them told in English for the first time. They are certain to please readers of all ages. Miss E. Marshall Wood's illustrations enhance the charm of the book.

*The views expressed in these pages must be taken as those of the individual contributors. THE ASIATIC REVIEW does not hold itself responsible for them.*

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